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FROM LONGHOUSE TO PASAR: URBANIZATION IN SARAWAK, EAST MALAYSIA

By

Vinson Hutchins Sutlive, Jr.

A.B., Asbury College, 1953

B.D., Vanderbilt University, 1956

M.A., Scarritt College, 1968

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degre of
Doctor of Philosophy

[p. i]

University of Pittsburgh

1972

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UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

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FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.

It was defended on

July 18, 1972

and approved by

Dr. L. Plotnicov

Dr. L. K. Brown

Dr. P. Vernon

Dr. A. Snoehr Chairman

[p. i-A]

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University of Pittsburgh, Ph.D., 1972
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[Introductory p. ii]

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

114 I was born in Thorsby, Alabama in 1932, moving to Birmingham in 1939. I received my B.A. from Asbury College in 1953, my B.D. from Vanderbilt School of Religion in 1956, and my M.A. from Scarritt College in 1968. Following one year's study of Ibans, I began teaching in the Methodist Theological School, Sibu, in 1958 and have taught in that institution for ten years. I have lived and worked among the Ibans of the Sibu District for eleven years. In addition to work with the Inter-Church Committee on Translation from 1963 to the present, I also have written original materials in Iban. I have compiled extensive word lists in anticipation of producing an Iban-English dictionary. In 1965 and 1966 I undertook field research on the Iban shaman which resulted in the writing of my Master's thesis, "The Iban Manang: A Study in Bornean Shamanism."

In 1966 I entered the Department of Anthropology of the University of Pittsburgh. During my third year, I worked as a Teaching Fellow. [122] Upon completion of my course work in 1969, I returned to Sarawak where I undertook the research for my dissertation, with financial assistance from a National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant. In 1971 and 1972, I wrote the dissertation which follows.

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I am deeply indebted to a host of friends for their guidance, suggestions and insights which have made the writing of this dissertation possible.

The advice and encouragement of Professors Alexander Spoehr, Leonard Plotnicov and Keith Brown helped to conceptualize the problem to be studied, and the approach to be taken in dealing with the study.

The names of a few Ibans and Chinese are contained in the body of the paper, and to them and the many more who shared their knowledge but must remain anonymous I express my deep appreciation.

[127] Mr. Benedict Sandin, Curator of the Sarawak Museum, offered a number of valuable leads, particularly on the incipient class structure and political leadership among the Ibans. The Assistant Curator, Mr. Lucas Chin, and the Archivist, Mr. Loh Chee Yin, made available the abundant resources of the Archives on my several flying visits to Kuching.

To my wife, Joanne, who read each draft, and to friends who offered criticisms and suggestions, I am most grateful. Finally, to Miss Tnay Yong Hua, who spent long hours mimeographing the paper in its first stages, I give my thanks. The responsibility of all translations and material contained herein is my own.

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INTRODUCTION

121 The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the Ibans of the Sibu District of Sarawak against the background of Sibu Town,[1] a developing administrative center and entrepot. Historically, there has been a close relationship between the growth of the Iban population in the district and the development of the town, and it is impossible to understand the one apart from the other.

128 This study attempts to contribute to the growing and much-needed literature on urbanization in Southeast Asia, and in Part I we deal with the factors involved in Sibu's rise as an urban center. While some excellent works have been done on urbanization in Africa, India, Latin America and East Asia, and on Southeast Asia in general, the region is wanting of detailed studies of urbanization as a form of adaptation. Precisely because urbanization is a form of human adaptation, it cannot be defined by residence patterns alone or by delineation of boundaries between urban and rural areas. In the activities of market

[1] Hereinafter, unless otherwise indicated, Sibu refers to the town.

/2/ trade and administration, new values are disseminated, people perceive new orientations to power structures, and concepts of time and space are changed as well as settlement patterns.

The recent take-off of Sibu as an urban center and the contemporary movement of Ibans into the town, whether temporarily or more permanently, permit us to deal with a number of questions that have been raised with regard to urbanization in Southeast Asia. For example, what are the effects of urbanization on indigenous society and culture? Is the in-migration of indigenes resulting from and in structural and cultural changes, and if so, what is the nature of these changes? What is the effect of urbanization on traditional and neo-traditional institutions, such as the family, kin-group, longhouse community and form of marriage? What are the factors involved in the decisions of indigenes to move to urban areas? What is the nature of interaction between members of different ethnic groups in rural and urban contexts?

[128] In Part II we shall analyze the adaptation, social organization and culture of the Ibans of this district. While there are many similarities between the Ibans who are subjects of this study and those of the Sut described by Freeman (1955; 1970), there also are important differences reflecting in part the earlier time when Freeman's study [177] was made, and in part the disparate settings. Unlike the far more isolated Ibans of the Sut, who are today in many respects as Freeman

121 177 found them twenty years ago, the Ibans of the Sibu District have accommodated to numerous influences that have been introduced to them, and especially within the past twenty years.

175 166 177 The movement of the Ibans into this district has occurred within the past 125 years. When James Brooke arrived in Sarawak, the movements of the Ibans into the southern tributaries of the Rejang were just beginning. Entering from the south, they soon invaded the land north of the Rejang, driving out or subduing and assimilating the former inhabitants.

In his program of pacification, James Brooke established Fort Brooke in 1862 at the point of the division of the Rejang and Igan Rivers. [439] Under the protection of the fort, the point soon became a nexus for trade between Chinese, Ibans, Malays, Melanaus and others. From the beginning of the center, Ibans have both served and been served by the trade carried on there.

361 177 Today, few Ibans in the district live more than two hours travel from the town which is accessible to them by private boats, public launches and ferries, cars, taxis and buses. Their adaptation has been influenced by the development of the town as an administrative center, entrepot, and by acculturation to the values mediated through residents and visitors.

166
198 Although there has been a long association between the Ibans and Sibu, the in-migration of relatively large numbers has taken place only within the past decade. The factors involved in this in-migration are numerous and complex as will become apparent. On the one hand, they are related to the problems of making a living according to the level of new expectations in many rural areas. On the other hand, they include the attractions and amenities of life in the pasar, or trading center, of education, wage-earning and escape from the farm.

121
177 In keeping with the bifocal perspective of this study, the approach taken is a regional one, i.e., one in which the development of Sibu is seen in the context of the area from where its resources have come, and in the interplay between inhabitants of the urban center and rural hinterland. The rationale for this approach is that the emergence and development of Sibu can be understood only within the setting of the area from where products extracted from forest, farm and garden have supported the life of the urban residents. The townspeople, in turn, have supplied not only the goods needed and wanted by rural residents but also have interacted with them in an exchange of values and norms which have been influential in the structural and cultural changes that have occurred among rural residents.

121 While the attempt to take the regional approach may appear presumptuous, deviating from more traditional anthropological approaches,

/2/ and in contrast to the position of Gluckman and the "Manchester School," yet the alternatives of considering the Iban population of either the urban area or the rural area to the neglect of the other would have seriously biased the data which reveal a regional pattern of interaction and warrant the juxtaposition of the urban and the rural populations in a single study.

/2 The regional approach involved an historical study of Sibu Town and District, based upon materials available in the Sarawak Museum Archives, Kuching, the Sibu District Office, and various government departments. Long-time residents of the area were interviewed, including Tuba Apai Billy, a renowned lemambang ("bard") of Rawang Assan, and two of the original Chinese settlers, Lin Wen Tsung and Ling Kai Ching. Using data obtained from these and other sources it was possible to describe the demographic patterns and economic bases of the region.

Traditional anthropological techniques such as participant observation and work with key informants permitted a social structural analysis in both rural and urban areas. Surveys were made in 37 longhouses to determine, among other things, the age and quality of the house, relative sufficiency in rice production, composition of the bilik-family, evidence of longhouse fragmentation and changes in residence patterns. Concentrated studies were made on four houses: Rumah Nyala of Sungai

12 Aup, Rumah Imba and Rumah Nyelang of Salim, and Rumah Gaong of Sengan. The studies of these four houses included collection of genealogies, the inter-relatedness of bilik-families and a longitudinal analysis of their fluctuations, as well as economic and ritual activities of the members of each house.

Census data collected in 1958 and 1966 were available in the District Office for most of the 37 houses surveyed, and for the houses in the areas of Pengulu Chat and Pengarah Chundi for 1970. A major problem encountered in the research was the absence of recent census materials. Consequently, censuses were carried out in 1970 on those houses not covered in the 1970 materials available. A survey was conducted of 200 residents of Sibu Town to determine their backgrounds, education, employment, incidence and forms of help for parents, and factors involved in their movement into Sibu. Questionnaires designed to assess the effects of education on residence patterns and employment were mailed to former Iban secondary school students of whom 143 returned the forms.

Using the technique of intensive interviewing, I collected life
121 histories from nine Ibans. Combining this information with personal observations, it was possible to describe and analyze verbally and graphically the social networks of these individuals and their families.

/2/ By tracing the social networks and activity fields[2] of representative individuals, it was possible to determine the ties with fellow townsmen, Ibans and members of other ethnic groups as well, with kinsmen and friends from rural communities, and the nature and frequency of interactions. The uses of the concepts of network and activity field in combination appear to be especially fruitful in studies of urbanization; for example, in the present study they revealed the high frequency of inter-ethnic relations in contrast to other situations described by authors in which the ethnic groups appear as bounded entities with but minimal or no interaction.

The concept and use of network appears potentially as valuable to anthropology as the genealogical method has been.[3] The idea is indispensable in the study of urbanization and social change. For, in

---

[2] By an activity field I mean an egocentric system which may be delineated by social, economic, political or other types of relationships. A network, on the other hand, is defined by the totality of all units connected by a certain type of relationship. It is sociocentric rather than egocentric. A network subsumes all the activity fields of the constituent units.

[3] In a study of social change in India, Srinivas and Beteille (1964) have discussed the value of the concept of network in analyzing increasing social mobility in Indian society. After noting the inadequacy of the traditional social structural model to comprehend a complex society such as India, the authors describe the maintenance of effective networks among kinsmen and the development of extended networks in new inter-personal relations.

(2) tracing out the activity fields of selected actors the anthropologist is able to discover the nature of social relations, bases upon which they are formed and maintained, principles involved in decision-making, and differences in relations in rural and urban environments.

Finally, an attempt has been made to analyze the culture of those Ibans with whom I have lived and worked. This analysis was based upon Iban myths and rituals, in the broadest sense of the terms, as collected by the author and from other sources as well. The cultural analysis is an attempt to determine the values and belief-systems, the norms, goals and ideals of the Ibans by which they have related to their environment. Taken together with the previous analyses - economic, demographic, structural and of the social networks - the analysis of the culture of the Ibans provides further insights into their traditional values and new values being mediated through the urban center.

Although the term "Iban" often is used generally in this paper and, indeed, much of what is contained herein has applicability to Iban society and culture, my study is based upon research in the Sibu District. I am certain that anecdotal vetoes may be adduced to numerous points, with statements to the effect that Ibans in other areas and situations are different. To this I would respond with agreement, for it was a perceptive Iban who once said, "All of us Ibans, in every house, are

121 different" (Samoa kami Iban, alam tiap buah rumah, sigi' lain). Once again I would emphasize that this study is of the Ibans of the Sibu District, based upon research done in urban and rural areas on a sample of houses and individuals.

104 The spelling of Iban words in this paper follows the orthography as worked out by the Inter-Church Committee on Translation. In one point I have deviated from that orthography, by indicating glottalization with the use of an apostrophe ('). While this is not necessary for native Iban speakers, it may prove helpful to non-native speakers.

[436/171] The rate of exchange at the time of writing was slightly less than three Malaysian dollars to one American dollar.

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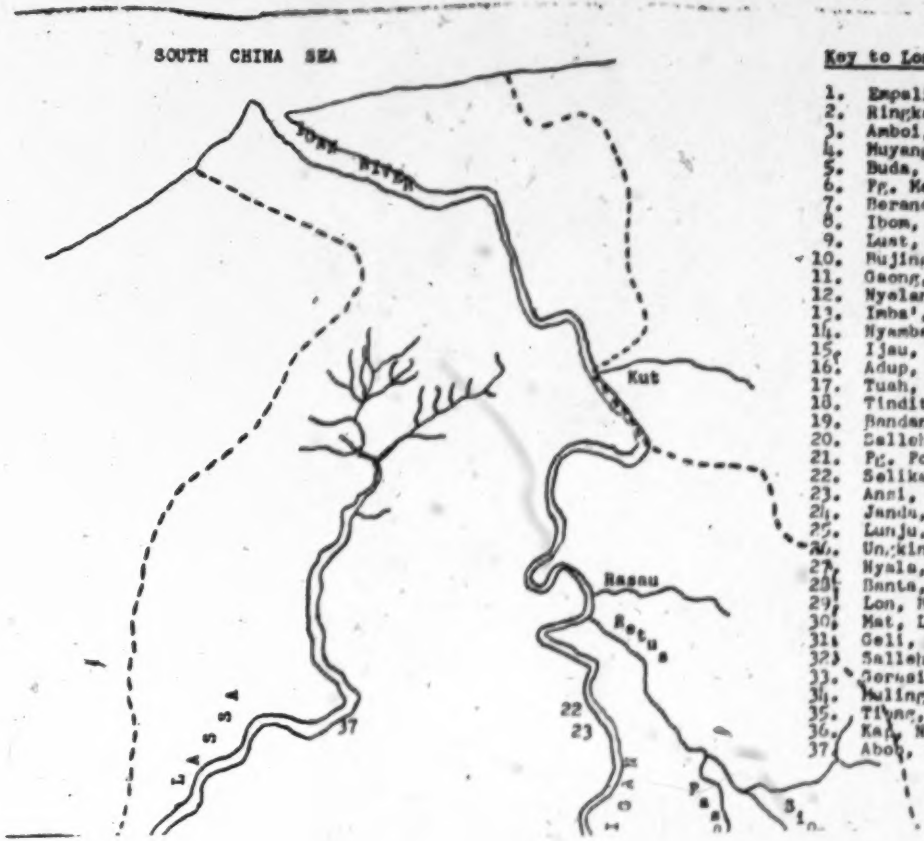

Key to Longhouse Numbers 10

1. Empaling, Assan
2. Ringkai, Lubok Guchi
3. Amboi, Assan Nunggang
4. Muyang, Batu Wong
5. Buda, Naman
6. Pg. Meringgai, Durin
7. Berandah, Durin
8. Ibom, Durin
9. Luat, Durin
10. Bujing, Durin
11. Gaong, Sengan
12. Nyelang, Salim
13. Imba', Salim
14. Nyambang, Salim
15. Ijau, Oya Road
16. Adup, Oya Road
17. Tuah, Oya Road
18. Tindit, Oya Road
19. Bandang, Pasai Bon
20. Salleh, Pasai Bon
21. Pg. Poh, Pasai
22. Selikau, Tutus
23. Ansi, Tutus
24. Janda, Batu Burak
25. Lunju, Penasu'
26. Ungking, Penasu'
27. Nyala, Aup
28. Banta, Aup
29. Lon, Bidut
30. Mat, Langgup
31. Geli, Bawang Assan
32. Salleh, Bawang Assan
33. Gerasi, Leba'an
34. Muling, Lengan
35. Tiang, Melangan
36. Kap, Nanga Lassa
37. Abob, Lassa

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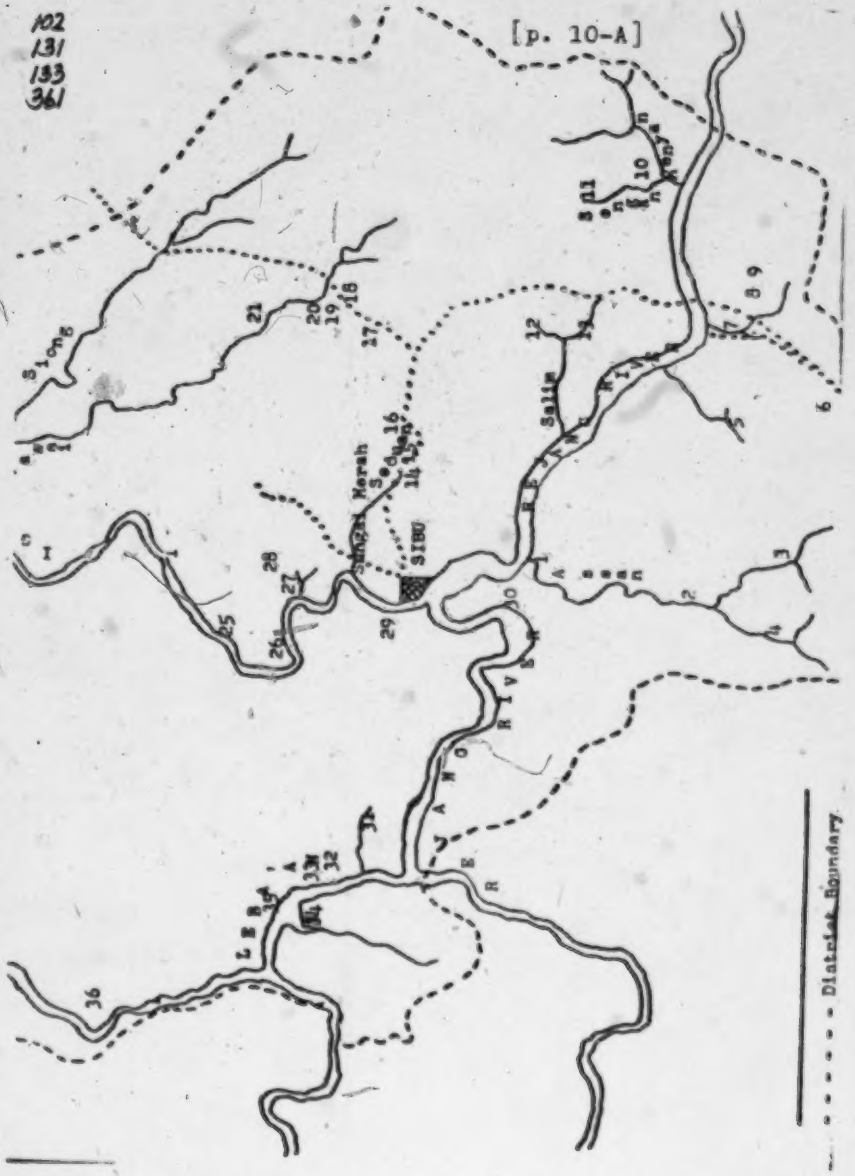
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SIBU
Sungai Sebauh
Sungai Sebuan
Sungai Sebuan
Sungai Sebuan

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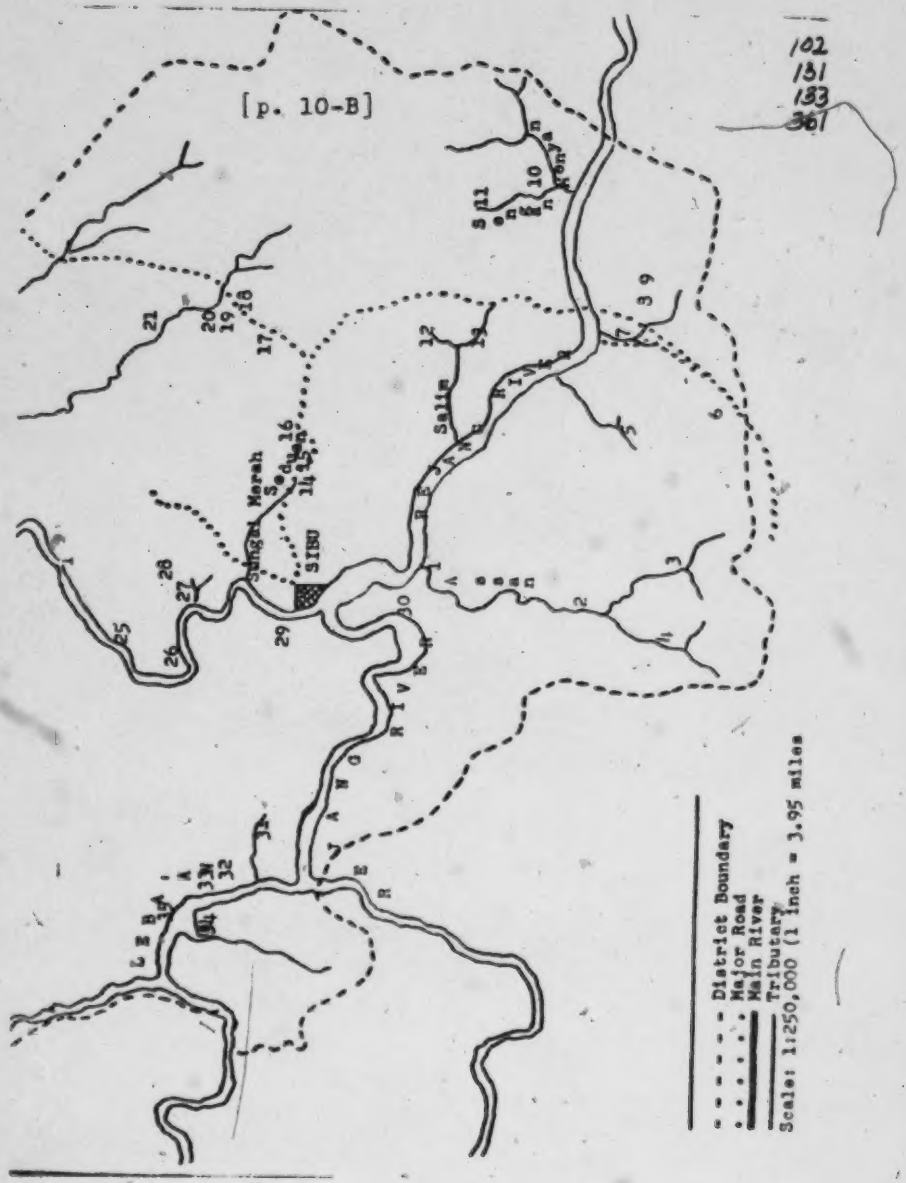
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Sungai Merah
SIBU
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Sungai Sebuan
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Sungai Merah
Sungai Sebauh
Sungai Sebuan
Sungai Selin
R. Igan
R. Rajang
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THE SETTING

Environment and Economic Bases of Sibu

000 Sibu is the administrative and economic headquarters of the Third Division, the largest of the five political divisions of Sarawak. It is the main center of an area of more than 22,000 square miles, or nearly one-half of the entire state, with a population of more than 300,000 people, consisting mainly of Ibans, Chinese, Malays and Melanaus.

The Sibu District is an irregularly shaped area of 1,305 square miles, comprising the Urban District (20 square miles) and the Rural District (1,285 square miles). The Sibu District extends from the mouth of Sungai Bonan on the northwest coast of Sarawak through the Batang Lassa south to Lubok Skubol, east southeast to the division of the Batang Rajang and Batang Leba'an, east to the branch of the Sungai Durin, thence north northeast past Bukit Tinggi, north northwest to the Batang Igan and at Kut inland to the South China Sea three miles west of Sungai Mudan. The Sibu Urban District is located on the northern bank of the Batang Rajang from Upper Lanang Road to Sungai Merah on the Batang Igan, and inland to the Airport.

A. Environment

13 Considerable attention must be given to the environment of the Sibu District in particular and Third Division in general, for the

13 ecological adaptation of the Ibans, Chinese and other groups has been made in terms of that environment. A century ago, the Sibu District was covered with virgin jungle cut by a labyrinth of streams and large navigable rivers. Unlike the fertile areas of Java which benefit from what Geertz (1963-38), citing Mohr, has called a

> "happy combination of . . . the four elements of the ancient world: fire, water, earth, and air,"

the environment of the Sibu District offers no such happy combination. Nevertheless, certain resources have been found and from the exploitation of these the ways of life in rural and urban areas have been developed.

153 1. Soils

> "The greater part of Sarawak is geologically very young, and well over four-fifths of the State comprises Tertiary and Quarternary sediments" (Jackson 1968-16).

134 The Sibu District is composed of deposits laid down during the Quarternary Period, principally of podsolics and peat soils. On the "Soil Map of Sarawak, Malaysia Timor, 1968," published by the Agriculture Department, the District is almost uniformly described as consisting of "mainly deep peat soils" (Histosols). In areas near the mouths of the principal rivers of the Third Division, there is little other soil than peat. Farther upriver and in the Sibu District, the peat swamps are broken up by hills of podsolics, shales and other soils.

134 I. M. Scott, a soil surveyor working with the Agriculture Department, has published a number of reports based on his analyses of the soil types in the District, including areas along the Oya and Durin Roads, and the Lassa-Igan areas. In his report on a soil survey of 33.3 acres at the 22nd Mile, Oya Road, Scott writes that

> "none of the soils is chemically rich" (1964-12).

[133] The entire area isunderlain by a complex of shale, sandstone and quartz veins.

> "The most widespread profile form developed in the upland soils . . is a yellowish brown clay or clay loam grading downwards to a somewhat heavier-textured and generally more reddish-coloured zone, the latter overlying or incorporating gravelly material."

"Sandy clay loams," "sandstone bands," "peats and mucks," and "poorly drained alluvial soils," characterize the survey area and, to a high degree, are representative of the District.

With rare exceptions, the soils of the District are generally poor for the purposes of cultivating rice, the primary food of the people of Sarawak. The hilly areas are subject to leaching, a phenomenon common in tropical countries where nutrients do not accumulate in the soil because the rain causes them to percolate down. Cultivation which severely disturbs the soils or is done too frequently without adequate periods of fallow hastens the processes of leaching that depletes

134 the stocks of soluble nutrients and minerals and reduces the organic
[37] matter present.[1] As a result, many parts of the District are covered with deserts of lalang (Imperata cyclindrica), a coarse grass common in other areas of Southeast Asia, resam (Gleichenia dichotma), an inedible fern, and other scrub which can survive in the relatively barren soil (tanah kusi) which cannot recover and accumulate nutrients because of inadequate cover.

In lowland areas, the bacteria which normally cause organic decay cannot function due to poor drainage and high temperatures. Instead of rotting, leaves, twigs, and other dead vegetable matter piles up in layers of highly acid peat (tenah rau), accumulating to depths of seventy-five feet in some places as, for example, at the 8½ mile, Oya Road. Even when drained, peat soils are sour (masam) and not arable because of the highly acid condition. Such soils comprise 2,322 square miles of the Third Division, about one-quarter of the Sibu District (Anderson, 1964-69).

Exceptions to be noted occur where pockets of igneous rock are

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[1] After decades and reams of criticism of the shifting cultivator and his techniques for laying waste the land, some agriculturalists now admit that such techniques are the only viable ones given local conditions. On this point, Spencer notes that ". . . under normal conditions, the tropical cultivator traditionally has disturbed his soil as little as possible. The judgement that Asian shifting cultivators are primitive, inefficient, or lazy because they do not fully turn the soil at every break in the cropping cycle is misinformed" (1966-6).

134 found and where alluvium is deposited by overflowing rivers. Examples of the former are found in the area of the 6th mile, Durin Road, where farms produce outstanding yields of rice though cultivated year after year. The latter conditions occur on the banks and promontories of the Batang Igan, especially between Sungai Merah and Tanjong Penasu, where annual deposits of alluvial soils replenish the nutrients at the expense of upriver lands whence the soils have eroded. Farmers in those areas on the Igan profitably cultivate the same plots annually.

Generally, however, the soils in the Sibu District are relatively poor for frequent cultivation, a fact which becomes more important in light of population increases and shorter periods of fallowing, and the farmer who is able to grow enough rice to last him from one harvest to the next is one of a minority.[2]

2. Water

132 133 The data from the meteorlogical station in Sibu provide information which may be taken as representative for the District, and reveal a highly erratic picture of rainfall and flooding. With only a few interruptions, records exist for the past 33 years and a summary of

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[657] [2]The Welfare Department supplied an average of three kati (1-1/3 pounds) to occupants of 75 longhouses in the Sibu District in 1971. In longhouses surveyed, 36% produced enough rice for the full year.

132 those data for 1915 - 1957 (Scott 1964-4) appears in Figure 1. During
133 that period, the average total rainfall was 126.13 inches per annum.

132 It is impossible to easily characterize the distribution of rainfall throughout the year, apart from Mohr's classification (1944) of the District as being within a "continuously wet belt," as is the whole state. On the average, the wettest month is January with over 13 inches of rain, and the driest month is June with 7½ inches. Over 10 inches of rain fall on average in every month between September and April. Monthly averages oversimplify the picture, however, as Figure 1 indicates. For the wet season occasionally fails to develop and less than 5 inches have been recorded in both January and February. In other years it develops late and extreme values of about 30 inches have been recorded in both March and April.

133 The Sibu District is part of the great Rajang Delta with its labyrinth of streams and channels cutting through the swamps. On account of the flatness of the land and the tremendous volume of water, the water-table in much of the District is only inches below the surface of the land. Although Sibu is about 80 miles from the sea, like the rest of the District it is but a few feet above sea-level, and is affected twice daily by tides. Underground rivers course through some low-lying regions and have played havoc with road-building projects.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

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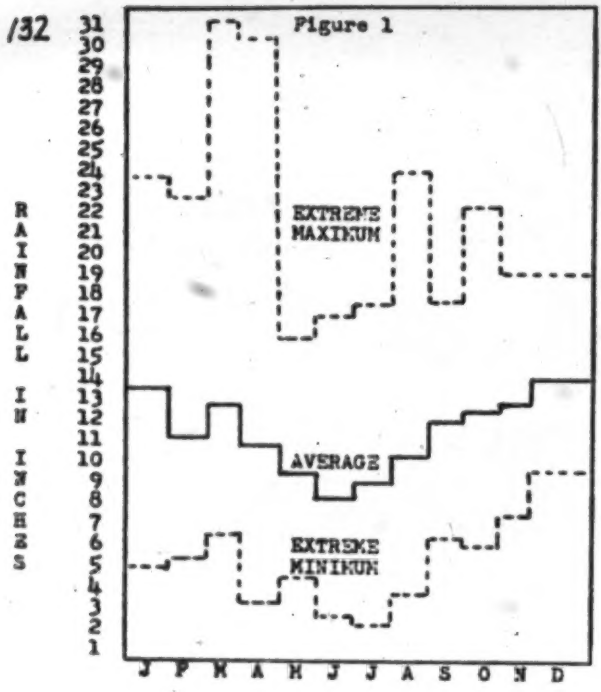

The combination of the erratic picture of rainfall, a great amount of water, flat land and high tides, makes prediction of water levels hazardous in the extreme, and when heavy rains coincide with high tides, flooding is likely to occur. This element of uncertainty is of great importance to both hill - and wet-rice farmers.

For the past three years, i.e., the agricultural years of July to March, 1969 to 1971, forty per cent of the Ibans surveyed in the Sibu District claimed to have been caught out by early rains or to have lost their crops to flooding. Some anticipated a short but sufficient dry season in late June or July and cleared accordingly, only to have rains come after their land was cleared and the brief dry season earlier. In 1971, there were two short dry spells and some who were not ready to burn in the first one at the end of May were able to take advantage of the latter one in August.[3] Farmers in low-lying areas

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[3]Formerly, Iban horticultural activities in all areas were carried out according to the positions of three principal constellations: the Pleiades (bintang banyak), Orion (bintang tiga), and Sirius (bintang Tangkong peredah). These stars are still followed in the schedules of some Ibans, especially in remoter areas, where it is said, "If there were no stars we Iban would be lost, not knowing when to plant; we live by the stars" (Freeman 1955-40). Stellar lore is rapidly disappearing in this District and temporal orientation is increasingly based on the calendar; for example, the ritual beginning of horticulture is fixed on June 1st when the Gawai Dayak is observed. This, also, has obvious problems, because of unseasonable rains.

132 where wet-rice is cultivated are not so affected by unseasonable rains,
133 for with the introduction and use of herbicides, they can easily clear
243 and burn their farms in the dry weather available. But these farmers are more vulnerable and have suffered losses due to flooding at different times of the horticultural year. In 1970, some farms were flooded in the Pasai Bon area when the rice was coming to fruit, others when the rice was ripe and the panicles so heavy that they fell over into the water and rotted. At the time of this writing, the District's lowlands have been inundated with from one to three feet of fetid water in an unseasonable August flood, just at the end of the Ibans' clearing their farms and before they could transplant. Those who made their seed-beds (chemi') in low-lying areas lost the young shoots (anak padi) under the water. As Ganai, Apai Gaun from Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, complained, "This is the third (consecutive) year our farms have failed on account of rain" (Tu'meh ketiga taun umai kami enda' nyadi setegal ujan).

3. Minerals

000 [135] The Sibu District is marked by a singular absence of valuable minerals, and mining industries play a relatively small part in the whole of the Sarawak economy. With the exception of oil, mining has been concentrated entirely in Sarawak west of the Batang Lupar, and there seems little likelihood of any significant discoveries being made

000 in the District.[4] Regarding the relatively minor importance of mining in Sarawak, Jackson reports:

> "At present, mining contributes less than 4 per cent of the value of Sarawak's total exports excluding re-exports of petroleum piped from Brunei; moreover, it provides employment for less than 2,000 people" (1968-138).

4. Vegetation

137 [132] The combination of high temperatures, ranging from 72°F (22.2°C) to 88°F (31.1° C), and an annual rainfall of 100 to 180 inches promotes the continuous and luxuriant plant growth that has earned for Borneo the epithet, "the evergreen island." Three-quarters of Sarawak is still covered by primary forest, and the remaining one-quarter is comprised of secondary growth and lalang Savannah, areas of settled cultivation and shifting cultivation, and urban areas. Location, soil type and altitude produce marked vegetation zones varying from extensive stretches of swamp forest on the coastal plains to the montane forest on the Indonesian border.

The Sibu District is comprised of several vegetation zones, including mangrove and nipa palm (Nipa fruticans) swamps, mixed swamp forest and alan forest, interspersed with areas cleared for cultivation.

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[4] Representatives of a Japanese company are taking samples for analysis from some areas, for example, Lubok Guchi, Sungai Assan.

137 The mangrove and nipa forests grow near the mouths of the Rejang and Tatusan Rivers. The peat swamp forst is found in low-lying areas of the District and usually associated with alan forest which grows farther from the swamp center.

Although total cash value to timber exports (Table 3) has been biased towards the swamp woods, this is primarily because swamp ramin is sawn and the value of sawn timber is about two-and-one-half times the cash value per volume as logs. Future reserves are predominantly in the hills.

The forests contain two natural rubber trees, gutta percha and india rubber, which were of considerable commercial value until this century, when their importance has declined before the more useful Hevea brasiliensis or para rubber. Camphor, jelutong or chicle, rottans and various types of reeds are common. More than 100 different types of fruit have been identified (cf. Allen 1967), and many of these contribute substantially to the income of indigenes and Chinese.

5. Animals and Birds, Fish and Snakes

136 The animal population in the Sibu District has been vastly reduced within the past century. At the time of the Iban migrations in the mid-nineteenth century, and even until the beginning of the present century, writers described the capture of orang-utan (mayas) on Pulau

136 Karetau opposite Sibu (Hose 1927-90), and the presence of macaques, gibbons, lorises, the proboscis monkey, and crocodiles in the District.[5] These animals are rarely encountered for they have been captured or killed by men who have entered the area, or they have fled into the upriver areas as the forest have been cut. Occasionally, honey-bears, wild pigs and deer are found and the last two damage rice crops, but in comparison to more protective forest areas farther upriver, the animal population in the Sibu District is relatively small and of minimal importance in the food quest of Ibans and others.

Smythies (1960) lists and describes more than 200 birds found on the island of Borneo. Of these, about two dozen are of economic or [223] ritual importance to the Ibans in this District.[6] In the former category are water-birds, pheasants, swifts, sparrows, hornbills and mynahs, the first three being trapped for food, sparrows being a serious pest to [787] rice crops, and the last two being caught to sell. Birds in the latter [178] group comprise the seven omen birds (Freeman 1960) and are important

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[5] For more complete listing of animals see Banks 1949 or Low 1968.

[6] These include the following of economic importance: burong engkeruak, ruai, simpidan, chinggil, sengayan, pipit, entelit, kenyalang and tiong; of ritual significance: Ketupong, bubut, kuchai, tandok ulat, pendak, ecbuas, beragai, papau, bejampong, and pangkas. For English and scientific names see Scythies.

136 in Iban augury, though there are few tuai burong (augurs) found in this
[707] District and bird-reading is rapidly disappearing.
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Many of the streams and rivers contain relatively plentiful
136 226 supplies of fish, shrimp and snails which constitute the principal source of meat and protein for the Ibans. The presence of several species is dependent upon the conditions of the water, whether high or low, and the techniques for catching the fish are adapted accordingly.

136 According to information supplied by the Sarawak Museum, there are only three species of poisonous snakes among the numerous reptiles
[237] in Sarawak. These are the cobra, krait and adder. Several sub-species of python are found, the most common being the ular sawa (Python) and ular ripong (Python curtus), both of which are highly prized for their meat and the former for its skin which is preserved and sold to shop-
[825] keepers or tourists. Occasionally, bayak (monitor lizards, family Varanidae) are captured by Ibans and Chinese, and either eaten or sold being valued as a source of strength.

B. Economic Bases of Sibu

177 Sibu has been built out of the forests of the Third Division.
439 The town has developed as an entrepot where imported goods have been exchanged for local forest products, the most important of which are jungle produce, rubber, pepper and timber. It is possible to distinguish three periods in the history of Sibu in each of which revenue

177 439 was derived first from jungle produce, then rubber, and more recently, timber. Jungle produce provided the main source of income up until about 1910, when rubber took over until about 1964 when its primacy was supplanted by timber. Jungle produce and rubber continue to contribute to the economy of indigenes and Chinese, but during the past two decades Sibu's take-off has been based on the exploitation of timber.

1. Jungle Produce

176 439 314 For centuries the people of Borneo supplied mixed forest produce - rhinoceros horns for their alleged aphrodisiac qualities, kingfisher feathers, bezoar stones, damar (resin), camphor from the Borneo camphor tree, and casques of the helmeted hornbill, once more valuable than jade - to Chinese traders who brought beads, iron, crockery and the enormous earthenware jars (tajau) found as heirlooms in every longhouse. Chinese and Malay merchants penetrated the Rejang Valley long before permanent settlements were built, for this region had an abundance of the forest treasures, wanting only for collection.[7]

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[7] On the treasures of the Rejang forests, the Ranee Margaret wrote: ". . .The Chinese are supposed to have been the first to discover camphor, and Sibu bazaar is one of the principal ports for it in Sarawak. . . The Rejang River is rich in many articles of export; indiarubber, gutta-percha, beeswax, mats, ebony, beads, and geliga or bezoar stones, the latter being found in the stomach of three species of monkeys." (1913-255).

175 439 314 [484] [487] [554] The jungle products originally were collected by the various indigenous groups of the interior, and the collection still is largely confined to these groups. These goods were traded or bartered with Malays and Chinese for salt, cloth, iron and luxury items at coastal stations and were related to the tradition of bejalai or the adventur- [177] ous status-validating trips of the Iban male. After the introduction of money, the sale of such products was important to the indigenes because it was the single way they had of obtaining hard cash, a value quickly accepted by them. Thus there developed a symbiotic relationship between the Ibans and other indigenes who supplied the forest products, the Chinese and, to a lesser extent, the Malays, who supplied essential items such as salt, iron, and cloth, and luxury goods.

000 Similarly, the outstations of the Brooke administration were largely dependent upon revenue derived from duties on the export of jungle products. The outstations were expected to be self-supporting and to contribute towards the support of the central administration in Kuching, and it is no overstatement that the Brooke Raj was supported from this export trade.

The earliest readily available reports on trade are for 1871, when Sarawak included the territory from Tanjong Datu to Tanjong

000 Kedurong. The total revenue for that year was $122,842, of which the two natural rubbers, gutta percha[8] and india rubber, comprised the most. Timber exported amounted to only $216, less even than bezoar stones which were worth 14 times their weight in silver. Camphor was also highly valued and after cleaning brought $2,300 per pikul (133-1/3 pounds).

Although jungle produce now comprises only about two per cent of the total value of Sarawak's exports excluding petroleum, yet in the history of the State in general and the Rejang Valley in particular, it formed the largest source of income until the end of the first decade of this century. The figures in Table 1 indicate the revenue for the Third Division for the last decade of the nineteenth century, approximately 80 per cent of the income being derived from jungle produce.

Accounts for the Matu Residency were incorporated in the figures until the end of 1897, after which they were kept separately. Commenting on the increase in revenue in the last year, the Resident, H. F. Deshon, wrote that it derived primarily from Export Duty on gutta and timber,

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[8] "Gutta percha is obtained from a species of Nyatoh...Its use is declining in face of plastics and it is quite difficult to obtain in the Third Division. In the past it was much in demand as an insulating cover for submarine cables, golf balls, and medical use with adhesive tissues. It is still used in dentistry for temporary fillings." (Parsons 1966-7).

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

000 the sale of hawkers' licenses, and the newly instituted form of "Dyak passports" (foreign).

TABLE 1

Revenue and Expenditure
Third Division
1891 - 1900

	Revenue	Expenditures
1891	$50,961.78	$28,583.64
1892	54,586.79	33,739.29
1893	57,542.19	36,371.81
1894	49,323.69	36,007.31
1895	47,115.50	39,506.65
1896	47,570.05	40,574.32
1897	57,504.81	41,571.75
1898	49,208.81	31,823.07
1899	56,370.82	37,234.81
1900	64,722.81	35,847.61

Gutta percha was probably the most important forest product towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1870, the quantity exported from the State was 826,903 pikuls at the price of $35 per pikul. By 1902, the price was $155 per pikul but the boom was short-lived because of competition from plantation grown rubber (Hevea brasiliensis).

The fall in the demand for gutta percha was balanced to some extent by the meteoric rise in jelutong[9] or chicle. Jelutong first

[9] This rise coincided with the development of the American habit of chewing gum, in which jelutong is an important constituent.

000 appeared in the trade returns for 1900 and has continued to be an important export until the present time. The jelutong tree grows wild and customary tapping rights are clearly recognized. The latex is coagulated with phosphoric acid and molded into cylindrical blocks approximately 15" x 18" x 15" and about 100 pounds on average. Prices vary according to whether jelutong is purchased in rural areas, where it tends to be generally wetter and brings a lower price, or in Sibu where it is drier, having lost moisture during transportation, and so bringing more on the market.

314 [137] The lowland tree or jelutong paya (Dyera lowii) is fairly evenly scattered throughout the mixed swamp forests and yields a latex which flows much more freely than that of the upland tree, jelutong bukit (Dyera costulata) of the lowland forests. Attempts at planting jelutong gardens have been disappointing, and the collection is likely to remain a matter of indigenous tappers working trees in [439] their natural habitat. With the low prices of rubber at the time of this writing, bringing about $ .15 per kati, the collection of jelutong and other jungle products is more profitable than rubber-tapping for some Ibans.

000 Rottans have been an important item since 1870, being exported for the manufacture of furniture and used similarly by a few craftsmen within the state. Prices on rottans have been very variable, depending

000 upon the demand for their use locally in securing lografts timber trade, as well as for export for the manufacture of furniture.

314 439 Another product of occasional but unpredictable importance to both indigenes and Chinese is the illipe nut, a seed of various species of Shorea (Iban, engkabang). Most of the crop comes from the Rejang basin. The seeds are a source of a very high quality polyunsaturate vegetable fat and are exported mainly to the United Kingdom where the fat is extracted and used principally in the manufacture of chocolate [262] and, to a lesser extent, in cosmetics. Ibans express the fat which is molded into margarine-like blocks and eaten as a delicacy with rice.

314 The illipe nut is a highly unpredictable crop, really heavy seeding occurring on an average of once in four years. Only a fortuitous combination of soft rains and gentle winds allows the fruit to set, and more often heavy downpours and gusting winds during the northeast monsoon destroy the flowers. In the peak years of 1959 and 1962, exports amounted to 22,000 and 20,000 tons, valued at M$20 million and M$16 million respectively.[10] When a heavy crop occurs, Ibans and other indigenes take to the forests to collect as many as their boats will hold.[11] Browne writes that

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[10] Heavy crops also have been recorded in 1919, 1923, 1929, 1931, 1935, 1947, 1954 and 1970.

[11] And not infrequently more than they will hold. Overloading has cost several people their crops, boats, and motors every time of heavy crops.

"a good nut-year is a great event in Sarawak and provides a literal windfall for the native tribes," and, it should be added, for the Chinese shopkeepers, for the "windfall" quickly ends up with the Chinese merchants who have staked the illipe nut gatherers and collect their loans, or purchase the nuts while selling outboard motors, sewing machines, gold and other valuables to the Ibans.[12]

Sarawak abounds in fruits, and the trees are held under customary rights. Ibans and other indigenous groups collect the fruits when they bear, and either sell them to Chinese hawkers or bring them to town to sell. We will give more attention to this in Chapter Four.

2. Rubber

Para rubber (Hevea brasiliensis) was first introduced into Sarawak in 1882 when Bishop Charles Hose planted one seedling in Kuching.

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[12] The relative abundance of forest products and especially illipe nuts when they are bearing has been a significant factor in the casualness with which many indigenese approach rice-cultivation. Prior to the planting of rubber and pepper in this District, men took off to collect jungle produce in the period between planting and harvesting rice. Bailey described how Malays in the Lingga area gave up rice-cultivation for collecting and fishing, finding the task easier and more pleasant (SG 2 June, No. 437, 1902). Sometimes rice has been neglected to the extent that crops are lost, as one Resident complained: "What I feared might happen has come to pass, the padi having been deserted by the Dyaks for the easily collected and remunerative engkabang crop, with the result that the majority of the Dyaks are short of rice and will have to obtain their supplies from other sources. They have plenty of money and will be able to obtain supplies. . . ." SG 1 August, No. 839, 1923). Critics of Ibans who favor collecting over rice-cultivation fail to note that the rewards of the former are much more certain at the times when produce is available.

A, [Sarawak Gazette--Analyst]

175 177 249 The potential of para rubber went unrecognized until about the turn of the century when the Rajah, foreseeing the economic importance of the new exotic, established Experimental Rubber Plantations at Segu and Satap in the First Division. By 1908, 15,000 seeds were obtained at Segu and 44,000 at Satap. Eighteen thousand of these seeds were sent to Sibu.

Experiments in rubber planting had been carried out in the Sibu area from the first years of this century. Pengulu Dalam Munan, a famous Iban war-leader, had planted a garden of the local getah rian (Isonandra gutta) with which the Government also was experimenting at that time (SG 448, 2 May, 1903). According to one of the early settlers of Sibu, Ling Wen Tsung, para rubber was introduced into the Sibu area by Wong Ging Huo, a Methodist minister who brought rubber seedlings to Sarawak after an Annual Conference in Singapore.[13] Wong's trees were producing by 1911, when the price of rubber was "700 dollars per picul," according to Ling.[14] Altogether, Wong planted 3,000 trees at Sungai Nawah and shortly thereafter, Kuo Yeu Tiok planted 1,000 trees at Ensurai.

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[13] "In Singapore he saw rubber seedlings used for the Malayan industry, costing 700 dollars per picul. So he went to Malaya and bought some seeds. He brought the rubber seeds in a particular way. He put the seeds in a box filled with coal ash and placed the rubber seeds in the ashes. In this way he brought them to Kuching and Sibu and after a journey lasting about five weeks all the seeds became plants." (Ling 1966-28).

[14] Ling writes: "He made so much that he could not carry all the coins home. This led others to follow his example as they said, 'rubber trees make money'" (ibid.).

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The Ibans were quick to take up rubber planting and, encouraged by boom prices in 1910, engaged in planting gardens along the Batang Rajang, Batang Leba'an and Batang Igan, as well as on land off a number of tributaries. By the mid-1920's, more than 100,000 acres of rubber had been planted in Sarawak, and when the Great Depression ushered in the era of restriction,[15] the total area devoted to rubber exceeded 220,000 acres.

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Rubber planting in Sarawak was done on small-holdings by Chinese and indigenous farmers. Charles Brooke adamantly refused to permit the development of rubber estates by outsiders and in an editorial of 1970[A] wrote:

> "Rich companies pay their managers ruinous salaries and no doubt will soon make use of manuers which are always dangerous in being liable to germinate insects and vermin which often cause disease and failure in the trees and crop. Sarawak would be more satisfied with a more gradual development, with less capital expended and smaller losses in the case of failure."

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[656] [15] State-wide tapping holidays were ordered every fourth month according to terms of the International Rubber Regulation Agreement of 1934, which Sarawak joined under considerable pressure from the British Colonial Office. This method of restriction was not effective and a "coupon system" was introduced in 1937, under which each owner was given coupons entitling him to market a specified amount of rubber, dependent on the size of his holding.

[A] [The author presumably means 1870--Analyst]

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657 The Second Rajah permitted the Borneo Company to develop the Dahan Estate in 1902, and the Sungai Tengah Estate in 1907, but these were the exceptions.[16] His general policy on cultivation was expressed in a Gazette editorial of 1910, in which he wrote:

> "The object of the Sarawak Government is to develop the cultivation of the land for the good of the inhabitants in order that they may have the profits and benefit in the possession of such gardens as an inheritance or pesaka to their descendants - and this object would not be achieved or realized unless the plantations were protected and strictly prohibited from falling into the hands of the richer and more speculative class of the white races."

The effects of the Second Rajah's policy of encouraging smallholder's production of rubber were many and far-reaching. In the first place, the time when experimentation in rubber planting was taking place coincided with the arrival and first decade of struggle of the Chinese settlers on the Rejang. Although the Chinese were brought to Sarawak at the beginning of the century for the express purpose of growing rice, their initial failures in that crop vis-a-vis the soaring prices of rubber strongly influenced their decisions to plant rubber rather than rice. In the early 1920's, when the prices of rubber

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[16] The Borneo Company was the only important European firm in Sarawak from the time of its founding in 1856 until the opening of the Miri oil-fields by a subsidiary of Shell in 1909, and enjoyed a special position and played a mutually supportive role with the Brookes. Charles Brooke did not want European companies or planters in Sarawak because they would have threatened his position of absolute monarch. He preferred to see "a more gradual development, with less capital expended" in Sarawak for fear of the undermining of his position.

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657 dropped, Chinese and others stopped tapping and took up rice cultivation, an alternative which, along with others, has been exploited whenever rubber prices have been low.

The alternative which rubber production offered to small-holders has been one factor[17] which has prevented Sarawak's achievement of self-sufficiency in rice production. As early as 1926, the competition between rubber and rice for the planters energies were well recognized. In a perceptive article, the editors of the Gazette describe the drop in rice production, attributable in part to investment of time and energies in rubber production. The editors write;

> "Perusal of the interesting Annual Report of the Department of Trade and Customs for the year 1925 reveals facts which lead one furiously to think.
>
> "To quote the Report, 'rice imports show a further increase of 50,000 piculs valued at $440,000. The following figures, showing the importation of this staple food, are significant: -
>
> 1922 . . 132,291 piculs . . $ 903,899
> 1923 . . 224,247 piculs . . 1,523,710
> 1924 . . 273,003 piculs . . 2,179,827
> 1925 . . 323,220 piculs . . 2,620.852

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[17] Others include the poor soils, erratic rainfall, techniques, pests, inconsistent use of fertilizers, and often casual attitude towards weeding and guarding a rice crop in the period between planting and harvesting.

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"'. . . These figures are not wholly attributable to failure of crops of increase of immigration, but largely due to partial or complete abandonment of their farming life by large sections of the natives of the country in favour of rubber planting. . .'"

"'. . . So long as it pays the natives better to plant rubber and buy their rice, they will naturally prefer to do less hard work on their padi farms than in previous years.'"

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In addition to making rubber production a viable economic alternative to small holders, the Rajah's policy was influential on the patterns of movement of the shifting Iban cultivators. By making it possible and encouraging each family to plant its own rubber estate, rather than allowing companies to plant large gardens to be worked either by plantation workers living in company quarters, as in Sumatra, or commuting, as in parts of Malaya, the Rajah made ownership of real property and interests therein a new fact in Iban adaptation. In contrast to the high degree of mobility characteristic of shifting cultivators, owners of rubber gardens are more sedentary, residing in proximity to the trees they tap daily. As one informant said, Kaki kami nyau lekat tegal getah ("Our feet were stuck because of rubber,"

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Anyau Bakit, 16 September, 1969. In some areas, for example, Bawang Assan, Ibans built permanent longhouses for the first time as they planted their rubber gardens. The eight-door rumah papan built close to the present-day site of Rumah Riang, was a novelty because of its

175 permanence and because it was the first longhouse in memory built of
249 planks.[18] In other areas, for example Oya Road and specifically
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342 Rumah Tindit and Rumah Meruan, the advent of rubber has been influential
177 in the fragmentation of longhouses which have been abandoned as individual families moved away to be nearer to their gardens.[19]

249 Adaptation to rubber production was a shift in the value
177 system and social structure of the Iban community. For, whereas pre-
554
556 viously successful rice cultivation was a requisite for any Iban male seeking recognition and upward mobility, rubber planting opened a new way to wealth and acquisition of economic security, so much desired
243 and a sure sign of the blessings of the gods. The conflict between
249 the traditional padiculture and rubber growing was expressed in a
539 wide-spread story that rubber ate rice.[20] According to one version,

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[18] Owing to the practice of shifting cultivation, longhouses were impermanent structures, built of softwood posts, split bamboo floors, bark walls and thatched roofs, according to several informants (Unchat Chok, Tuai Rumah Gaong).

[19] The ceremonial importance of the longhouse continues and
[796] bilik - families return occasionally for gawai and other ritual activities.

[20] Pringle describes a similar story among the Saribas Ibans
[114] (1970-203), Freeman among the Balleh Ibans (1955-105), and Geddes among the Land Dayaks.

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"Aing of Telok Bulat, Binatang, put his padi out to dry on a mat on the tanju', and went off to his farm. When he returned, the rice was all gone - not a kernel was left. The next day, the same thing happened. As there was no strong wind on either day, Aing was suspicious, andon the third day, sneaked around to the back of his house and up into the sadau from where he could keep an eye on his rice. He noticed a slight movement and saw the branches of a rubber tree bending toward the rice, closer and closer, until the rubber leaves - notice, they are shaped like a naga (dragon)- ate the rice."

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[454]

As a result of the story and other cultural pressures, an unknown number of Ibans cut their rubber trees down, a move that they were to regret later. Those who refused to destroy their rubber trees, such as the fathers of Unchat Chok and Jonathan Bangau, prominent Iban businessmen in Sibu, reaped large profits during the periods when prices were high and through wise investment (well-advised by Chinese friends) became wealthy.[21]

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Another far-reaching effect of the Rajah's policy on rubber was the development of a state-wide trading network to handle the exportation of rubber, involving Ibans, Chinese, Malays and others in production and, until recently, principally Chinese in the position of middlemen. Until 1964, when it was displaced by timber, rubber was Sarawak's chief export product for almost thirty years, and the network

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[21] Chok Apai Unchat was a close friend of Wong father of Mr. Wong Soon Kai, a Sibu-born surgeon, and through the elder Wong's advice bought a shophouse on Island Road that is now the property of his son.

175 develop to transmit the rubber from the planters to the major exporters.
177 Until the take-off in the timber trade, the importing of foodstuffs,
439 cloth, ironwares, outboard motors and numerous other goods, and the exporting of rubber may be described as the backbone of the State's economy, necessary to the rise of trading classes among the Chinese, Malays and Ibans,[22] to State revenue, and to capital accumulations which later permitted investment in heavy equipment for the exploitation of Sarawak's major natural resource-timer.

439 T'ien, writing on the nature of this trade network which emerged
441 to handle rubber and foodstuffs states that,
177

> "grocery import and rubber import[A] may, indeed, be regarded as obverse and reverse of one process. The system of credit which keeps the rural economy going depends. . . on the exchange of rubber for daily provisions. The rural grocery shops have a double function: as distributors of provisions and as collectors of rural produce, especially rubber. The urban grocery shops also play a double, or rather triple, role: they retail goods to urban customers, but they are also the sources from which the rural grocers obtain their stocks, and at the same time, middlemen between rural shops and exporters in the rubber trade."

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[22] "Without exported rubber and imported groceries almost the whole of the Chinese population of the Colony would exist only at the level of subsistence agriculture. . . " (T'ien 1956-54). Similarly, the traders of other ethnic groups.

[A] [Presumably the author means "export"--Analyst]

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[439]

As stated above, until recently most of the middlemen in the trade network were Chinese. Within the past decade or so, however, an increasing number of Ibans have opened village shops, some quite successfully. The shopkeepers in rural areas who have been able to make a go of their businesses have been those who have not depended on trade alone but with their families have continued to grow rice, to assure their self-sufficiency, and to tap rubber, to have an additional source of income besides that from the shop. The shopkeepers who have looked to trade alone have invariably failed, for the rural traffic in rubber and foodstuffs is inadequate to carry full-time traders.

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The history of rubber trading may be described most easily as extremely variable. This is due to several reasons. First, the local trade is part of the world market, and activities are correlative with going market prices. At times when there has been a great demand for rubber on the world market, trees have been tapped frenetically, latex molded and pressed into sheets, and rushed to the shops. When prices have dropped, tapping declines correspondingly. For example, in the peak years immediately following the First World War, the price on para went to $100 per picul in 1919, only to drop $15 by 1921 owing to a glut. Rubber tapping stopped temporarily. Again, in 1947, no rubber was to be found in the Sibu <u>pasar</u> because of the low price it was

bringing. One year later, 22,000 piculs were exported from Sibu in the one month of November, 1948, and in 1950, Government reports complained of the problems of recruiting labor and predicted the failure of rice crops that were neglected by planters taking advantage of the rubber boom. At present, many Ibans are hiring out as coolies for two to three dollars a day rather than tap rubber which is bringing about $45 per picul.[23] When prices are up, rubber is tapped. When it is more profitable to engage in other activities, rubber is left alone.

Another reason why the local trade is variable is the erratic rainfall which has been described (pages 15-19). Rainfall at night or in the early morning makes rubber tapping impossible, and during months of heavy rain the production of rubber drops appreciably.

In addition to rainfall and fluctuating prices, another reason for variations in the rubber trade is the seasonal activities of rice

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[23] The "Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Third Division, Upper Rejang, For the Year 1970," contains the following indictment: "Due to the decline in prices down to the 50's the exports of rubber from Sibu and presumably the production went down three fold as compared to 1969. Many small holders have stopped tapping their trees and (are) turning elsewhere for their livelihood. This short sighted policy on the part of our farmers is a definite drawback as it hampers the Government's efforts to stabilise the rubber market." (pages 13-14). The small holder, however, has no alternative other than exploiting the part(s) of his environment which offers the greatest rewards at any one time.

221 cultivation. During the months of May to August, when clearing and
243
314 planting takes place, and March and April, when harvesting and storing is done, the time given to rubber tapping is much less than during the other months. In some families with more members, a division of labor is arranged so that both rice farming and rubber production, for food and cash, are carried on.

455 Still another reason for variations is the tendency at all
648 levels, from tapper to trader to exporter, to speculate and hold back
439 quantities of rubber against a rise in prices which sometimes occurs, though recently not by very much. It is not uncommon to find several scores of rubber sheets hanging in village shops or lesser amounts in the dapor section of a bilik, being held until prices rise or until the owners make a trip to the pasar. Many small holders cannot afford the luxury of such speculation, even on a small scale, and must sell soon after processing the sheets regardless of prices.

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133 The fluctuations in the rubber trade may be seen on the following page in Table 2, in which rubber exports are correlated with the amount of rainfall and prices during the months of 1970. Two other factors must be kept in mind: (1) the months from March to August are times when rice cultivation and harvesting require a major proportion of work, if a successful crop is to be had, and (2) th prices given are exporters' prices, the small holder receiving considerably less.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

TABLE 2

Rainfall, Prices and Rubber Exports
Sibu, 1970

Month	Rainfall		Dollars per Picul[24]		Rubber (in piculs)	
	Inches	Days	RSS No. 4	RSS No. 5	Smoked Sheets	Remilled
January	17.36	27	66.25	64.25	9,178.43	1,247.42
February	7.92	8	66.00	64.00	5,221.07	917.42
March	10.10	18	61.75	59.50	6,599.59	1,460.19
April	11.63	25	59.75	58.25	5,598.57	1,107.39
May	8.65	21	58.75	57.00	5,742.81	916.98
June	5.66	15	59.75	57.75	8,068.22	1,237.57
July	9.53	20	57.75	55.50	7,071.35	1,178.10
August	8.50	20	53.50	51.50	8,129.79	1,022.01
September	10.83	21	50.75	49.25	9,450.03	594.30
October	5.21	18	47.25	45.50	9,158.79	728.03
November	8.30	27	50.00	48.00	5,758.18	1,339.09
December	10.53	24	49.00	47.50	7,564.22	1,264.22
Totals	114.22	244	55.29[25]	54.66[25]	87,541.05	13,012.31

[24]Unsmoked rubber averaged $11.98 less than RSS No. 5 per picul.

[25]Mean averages. Annual Report, Department of Agriculture, 1970, page 3.

18:Sutlive E,M-S (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

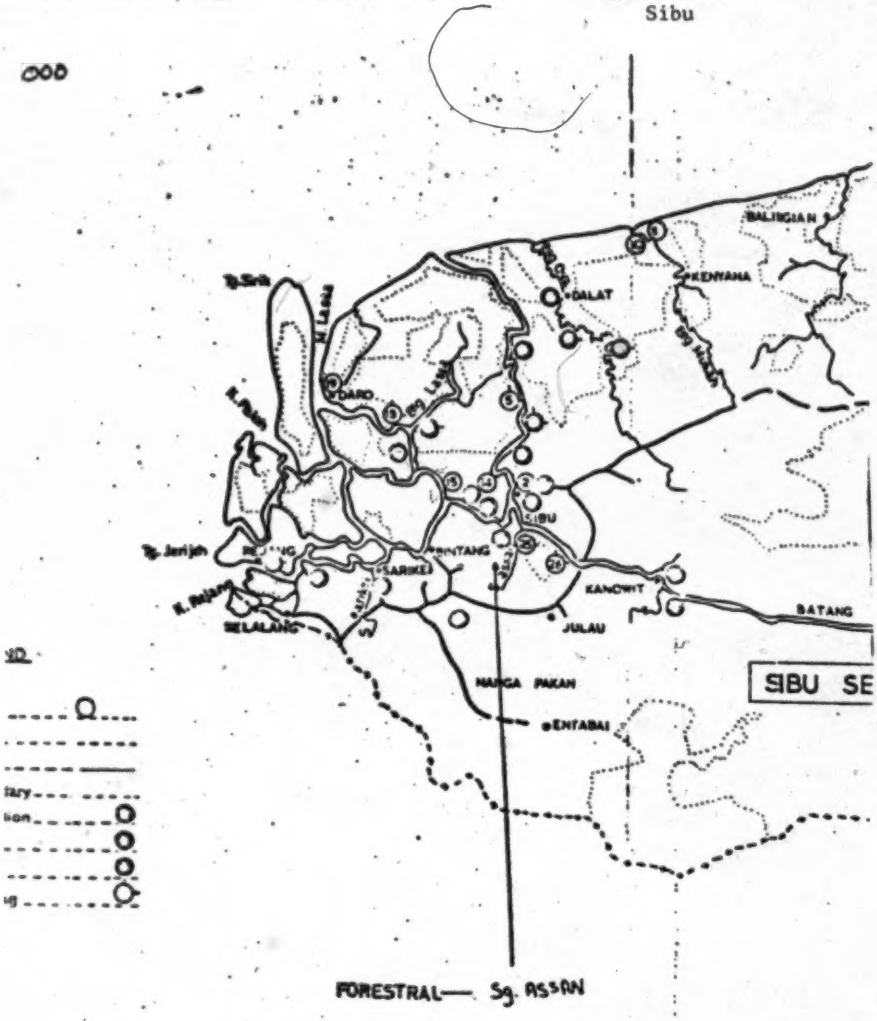
No.	NAME	LIC. No.	LOCALITY	TYPE
1	Borneo Timber Co.	S/32	Sg. Anlu, Sibu	Band mill (B. M.)
2	Hwa. Syn	S/2	Kuala Sg. Merah	Circular (C)
3	Hua Seng	S/58	Rantau Panjang	B. M.
4	Hua Seng	S/37	Sg. Kelepu, Igan	Horizontal (B.M.) H. B.M.
5	Delta Timber	S/50	Sg. Tutus, Igan	C
6	Hua Seng	S/65	Sg. Rasau	B. M.
7	Seng Ling	S/61	Kelan, Mukah	B. M.
8	Seng Ling	S/63	Sg. Buloh, Mukah	H. B. M.
9	C.T.C.	S/46	Sg. Harub	H. B. M.
10	Tan Jee Siong	S/36	Sg. Danau Besar	C
11	Mukah Sawmill	S/12	Sg. Abo, Mukah	C
12	Tien Guan	S/48	Sg. Empawai	B
13	Kong Thai	S/53	L. Bukit Lan	B
14	Yu Lee	S/59	Sg. Nansang	C
15	Leong Hua	S/5	Sg. Belaikap	C (burnt down 22.8.70)
16	Austral	S/25	Singai	B
17	Lee Hua	S/25	Stg. Lassa.	H. B.M.
18	Kong Thai	S/28	Teiok Bukau	C
19	Shin Hua	S/7	Daro	C
20	Sarawak W. C.	S/64	Kpg. Rejang	B
21	Delta Timber	S/47	Bt. Kinyau	B
22	C.T.C.	S/52	Sarikei	Gangmill
23	T.R.Untan ak. Panding	S/51	Binalang	C
24	Lee Hua	S/49	Pradom, Sedalo	B
25	Hwa. Syn	S/54,	Sg. Assan	C
26	Hwa Syn	S/38	Stg. Rejang	C
27	Balleh Sawmill	S/29	Kanowit	B
28	Cr. Guntol ak. Bana	S/44	Binatang	C
29	Seng Logging	S/62	Bukit Raya	C
30	Belaga	S/39	Belaga	C
31	Rh. Jugah	S/56	Nanga Gaat	C
32	Tiang Guan	S/66	6½ Oya Road	H. B.M.

LEGEND

Sawmill sites .....
State boundary ----
Section boundary ---
National forest boundary
Band mills in operation
Bilian Sawmill ----
Domestic Sawmill ---
Restricted in cutting

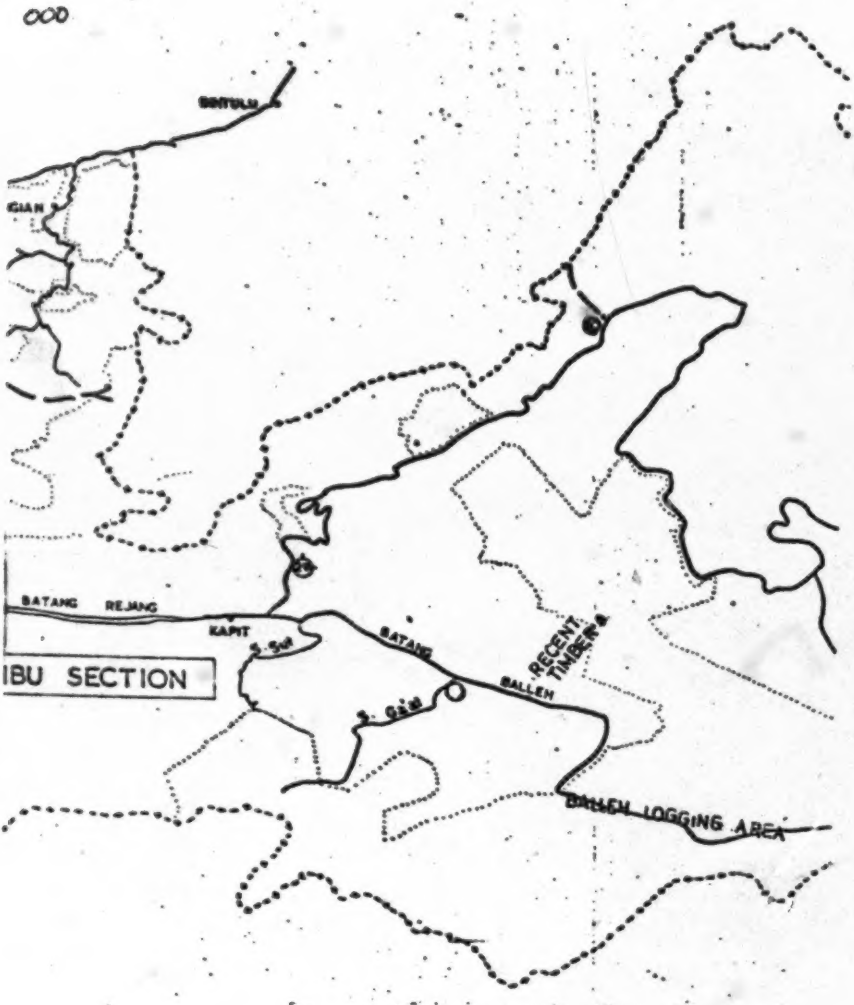
[p. 43-A]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu



[p. 43-B]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu



[p. 43-C]

000 The quality of rubber exported from Sibu varies from RSS No. 2 to 5, 383 with the largest number of sheets being in grades 3 and 4. Most rubber planted by Ibans receives low prices because it contains impurities or, in [476] some instances, is unsmoked. Many longhouses have built cooperative smokehouses so that the profit for smoking their rubber goes to them rather than to a middleman.

3. Timber

000 Sarawak has been described as a "timber-rich state," and the affluence of Sibu of the past two decades derives largely from the timber industry. The importance of and extent to which the timber industry has exploited resources within the Sibu District is indicated by the map on the following page[A] giving locations of logging companies and sawmills, [464] and the Table of Timber Exports on the second page[B]. These operations have brought immense wealth to owners and shareholders[26] and also provide employment to several thousand indigenes, principally Melanaus[27] and Ibans, and even more Chinese.

The value of Bornean timbers has long been recognized. As early as 1870, belian, the famous rot-resistant and highly impervious ironwood, was being exported from the Kanowit area to Hong Kong by Cantonese loggers. But the trade was spasmodic as there was no consistent demand for the timbers beyond the local market. Even up until the Second World War,

[A] [The map is on the previous pages, 43A-C--An.]
[B] [Table 3--pages 45A-47--Analyst]

[26] Until 1963 these were Chinese, and since then, some have been opened by indigenes, others jointly between Chinese and indigenes.

[27] Timber operators state a preference for Melanaus who, unlike Ibans, are less apt to take off because of a bad dream, omen bird, or other dangerous sign.

[Text Continued on Page 48]

TABLE 6 A/A

Number of People Employed in Timber
March, 1971

SAWMILL

NO.*	Malay	Chinese	Iban	Melanau	Others
1.	5	300	1		
2.	5	63	5	2	
3.	34	40	10	30	10
4.	15	20	20	6	2
5.	1	43	19	28	7 (Kayan)
6.	15	30	57	20	4
7.)					
8.		49		58	
9.	5	20	8		
10.	3	5	1		
11.		14		40	
12.					
13.	7	110	8		
14.	6	25	32		
15.					
16.	19	53	10	4	
17.	1	20	5		
18.	4	8	14		
19.					
20.	6	7	12	108	1 (Kayan)
21.	98	67		17	
22.	59	8	2		
23.					
24.	6	122		4	
25.		30			
26.	8	30			
27.		3			
28.					
29.	2	3	2		
30.					
31.					
32.	5	101	20		
	268	39	76	5	3 (Selalang Plywood Factory-Forest, 2nd D.; (Ding Brothers Moulding Plant, No Forest)
TOTALS	574	1520	302	342	27

* NO. refers to names of companies operating in Sibu Section as on Map, Figure 2.

A/A [This is part of a more extensive table, which may be found on pages 56-58--Analyst]

DOD

TABLE 3

TIMBER EXPORTS FROM SARAWAK FOR THE YEAR 1968

VOLUME IN TONS OF 50 CUBIC FEET (ROUND) AND TONS OF 50 CUBIC

DESTINATION	SOFTWOODS		HARDWOODS (SWAMP TIMBERS)					
	Bindang & Senziler		Ramin		Jongkong		Alan & Alan Bunga	
Country	Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	Logs	
1. Japan	422	-	12,447	30	192,989	-	503	
2. Formosa	-	-	-	671	1,083	-	1,495	
3. Korea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4. Hongkong	-	-	899	11,782	-	-	44	
5. Italy	-	-	37,912	22,107	651	-	-	
6. United Kingdom	-	-	-	49,622	-	-	-	
7. Germany	-	-	149	33,449	-	-	-	
8. Brunei	-	-	-	46	-	17	-	
9. Australia	306	-	14,679	19,343	-	507	-	
10. U. S. A.	-	-	-	23,203	-	-	-	
11. Sabah	-	31	-	164	-	704	-	1,
12. Netherlands	-	-	1,376	16,953	-	10	-	
13. Belgium	-	-	-	7,788	-	-	-	
14. France	-	-	-	5,596	-	-	-	
15. Sweden	-	-	-	3,048	-	-	-	
16. Norway	-	-	-	2,109	-	-	-	
17. Denmark	-	-	-	1,233	-	-	-	
18. Iraq	-	-	-	676	-	-	-	
19. South Africa	-	-	-	135	-	-	-	
20. Eire	-	-	-	162	-	-	-	
21. Portugal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
22. Greece	-	-	-	147	-	-	-	
23. Finland	-	-	-	106	-	-	-	
24. Canada	-	-	-	66	-	-	-	
25. Spain	-	-	-	86	-	-	-	
26. Bahrein	-	-	-	31	-	-	-	
27. Switzerland	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	
28. Lebanon	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	
29. Other countries	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	
30. Mozambique	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	
31. Singapore	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	
TOTALS	728	31	87,461	198,668	194,723	1,238	2,102	1,
TOTAL EQUIVALENTS IN ROUND TIMBERS	790		484,797		197,199		5,342	

TABLE 3
(SARAWAK FOR THE YEAR 1968
ROUND) AND TONS OF 50 CUBIC FEET (SAWN)

HARDWOODS (SWAMP TIMBERS)						HARDWOODS (HILL TIMBERS)	
Jongkong		Alan & Alan Bunga		Other Swamps Timbers		Belian Malanganai & Selangan batu	
ogs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn
2,989	-	563	-	289,911	5	52	-
1,083	-	1,495	-	18,811	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	109	-
-	-	44	-	74,296	-	-	-
651	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	17	-	61	-	2,066	24	324
-	507	-	-	885	658	1	-
-	-	-	-	-	194	-	-
-	704	-	1,534	-	3,519	-	24
-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
,723	1,238	2,102	1,620	383,903	6,456	186	348
197,199		5,342		396,815		882	

[p.46-A]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

000

TABLE 3 (Cont'd)

DESTINATION	HARDWOODS (HILL TIMBERS) (Cont'd.)								GR
	Hill Meranti		Hill Kapur		Keruing		Other Hill Timber		
	Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	Lo
1.	343,763	110	100,235	-	7,822	-	183,435	661	1,131
2.	54,381	-	1,908	-	148	-	78,696	-	156
3.	102,703	-	8,616	-	791	-	26,428	-	138
4.	9,840	1	6,806	-	90	-	205	-	92
5.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
6.	-	101	-	-	-	-	-	-	
7.	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	
8.	44,653	476	6,209	323	835	262	44	169	51
9.	83	-	31	-	-	-	323	-	16
10.	51	180	-	-	-	-	-	-	
11.	7,639	3,527	318	1,639	142	-	178	3,428	8
12.	-	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
13.	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
14.	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	
15.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
16.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
17.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
18.	-	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	
19.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	112	
20.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
21.	35	-	-	-	-	-	285	-	
22.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
23.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
24.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
26.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
27.	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
28.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
29.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
31.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTALS	563,252	4,554	124,143	1,962	9,828	262	289,594	4,370	1,655
TOTAL EQUIVALENTS IN ROUND TIMBERS	572,260		128,067		10,352		298,334		2,

[p.47]

TABLE 3 (Cont'd)

Other Hill Timber		GRAND TOTAL		TOTAL EQUIVALENT IN ROUND TIMBER
Logs	Sawn	Logs	Sawn	
183,435	661	1,131,659	806	1,133,271
78,696	-	156,522	671	157,864
26,428	-	138,647	-	138,647
205	-	92,180	11,783	115,746
-	-	58,563	22,107	102,777
-	-	-	49,723	99,446
-	-	149	33,468	67,085
44	169	51,765	3,944	59,653
323	-	16,307	20,508	57,323
-	-	51	23,577	47,205
178	3,428	8,277	14,370	37,017
-	-	1,376	17,025	35,426
-	-	52	7,788	15,628
-	-	-	5,617	11,234
-	-	-	3,048	6,096
-	-	-	2,109	4,218
-	-	-	1,233	2,466
-	-	-	732	1,464
-	112	-	247	494
-	-	-	162	324
285	-	320	-	320
-	-	-	147	294
-	-	-	106	212
-	-	-	91	182
-	-	-	86	172
-	-	-	45	90
-	-	52	10	72
-	-	-	36	72
-	-	-	33	66
-	-	-	19	38
-	-	-	18	36
289,594	4,370	1,655,920	219,509	2,904,938
298,334		2,094,938		

[p.47-A]

000 extraction of timber was difficult as no mechanical equipment was used and the required capital to purchase it was not available.

The timber trade of the nineteenth century was irregular, and shipments were exported upon demand. Occasionally, small shipments of belian and other heavy hardwoods were made to Singapore in the 1880's, and the Rejang timber trade showed a spurt in 1889 when timber valued at $29,000 was shipped during the first half of that year. A large shipment of 562½ tons of belian and 24,000 billets of firewood was shipped to Hong Kong in November, 1899 (SG No. 408, 2 January, 1900). But generally, the greatest demand for timber was on the local market, and production for export was not continuous.

The first sawmill in the Sibu District was opened by Lee Hua at Pulau Selalo in 1917. By 1923, there were four sawmills, operating in the Rejang area or Third Division. In addition to Lee Hua, sawmills were opened at Sarikei, Kanowit, and Bukit Lima, Sibu, only the last of which is no longer in operation. Hua Seng Sawmill was started in 1935 on the Igan.

The sawmills were small by present day standards, using engines with a maximum output of 100 horsepower used to drive circular saws (interview, Ling Kai Chieng, 16.9.71). Lee Hua Sawmill was the largest and most successful mill in the Third Division during this period. In 1936-1937, Lee Hua cut nearly half of all the sawn timber produced under license in the Third Division. The absence of mechanical equipment for extraction of timber meant that only the forests along the edges of the rivers were exploitable by manpower. The biggest logs could not be extr. ted and the depth of penetration was rarely more than 20 chains.

000 The chief species extracted in the pre-war period were meranti' and kapor. Interestingly, ramin was considered useless except for firewood. [464/177] Given the small scale of the timber industry during this period, it made little impact on the lives of the Ibans and other indigenes, neither offering employment nor making the concessions required to gain access to timber rights.

In a classic example of understatement, the editors of the Sarawak Annual Report, 1947, wrote:

> "During the course of the year two ships put into the Rejang River to load timber for Australia direct, and one vessel loaded a cargo of firewood for Hong Kong. These are comparatively new trades and are likely to expand."[28]

In 1947, the estimated total production of timber was 1,116,850 cubic feet of which 284,950 cubic feet were exported.

The spectacular take-off of the timber industry in Sarawak and the related development of Sibu as an urban center was due to several different factors. First, ramin, (Gonstylus bancanus), formerly considered useless except for firewood, was found to be an excellent timber for moldings, furniture and toys, among other things. Ramin is

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[28] "There are at present no large timber enterprises operating in the Colony and 19 medium-sized sawmills supply domestic needs and a surplus for export to neighbouring territories. There is a demand for prime lumber from the United Kingdom and Australia, but any expansion of this trade has been hindered in the past by the inability of the mills to find an outlet for lower grade lumber." (ibid., p. 43.)

600 a yellow, white wood which was introduced into the United Kingdom market when there was a restriction on the import of softwoods into that country.

The expansion of the ramin trade was rapid; from 17,000 tons exported in 1950 to 336,000 tons in 1960. Problems encountered were overcome. Trouble from blue stain fungus was remedied with the sodium pentachlorophenate dip. A fall in prices was countered by Government's control of production which helped to stabilize prices.

The ramin trade was centered in the Rejang area, chiefly for two reasons: first, hydrographic survey showed that it was possible for ocean going freighters to cross the Rejang bar and anchor at Tanjong Mani; and second, the Rejang delta is the main forest area of Sarawak.

A second factor was the increase by more than six times of the number of sawmills and logging operations in Sarawak, again primarily in the Rejang, between 1947 and 1967. This was possible because of several developments, the following among the most important. Capital-accumulation, in most cases from profits off of rubber and pepper, in others due to fortutious circumstances,[29] made possible investment in

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[29] One small sawmill below Sibu was taken over by the Japanese during the war and its equipment used for milling rice. After the Japanese defeat, about 6,000 gunny sacks of rice were left in the sawmill and the owners sold these for a handsome gain when rice was scarce.

000 heavy equipment for removal of timber from previously inaccessible depths in the forests and in sawmill equipment for breaking down and cutting the timber. The desire to invest capital in the local timber industry was related to political unrest in mainland China at that time. For several informants have said that local Chinese who previously had saved their money in anticipation of their return to China,[30] decided that, in light of the reforms of Maoism, it was more expedient to invest in Sarawak than jeopardize their savings and lives by returning to China.

Realizing the rewards to be reaped in timber, Chinese families and friends formed companies, pooled their resources and raised the capital necessary to purchase equipment, build sawmills, and obtain cutting rights. During the expansion of the timber industry, the number of sawmills in the Sibu Section of the Forest Department increased to 36, nine of which were added in the years 1966 and 1967.

A third factor in the take-off of the timber industry and its relation to the development of Sibu has been the distribution of wealth among companies, Government, importers, Iban leaders and their anembiak (followers), and the general community of shopkeepers. Government has

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[30] The "back-to-China" attitude held by many Sarawak Chinese immigrants has been a cultural rather than a social norm, for, according to a Fukien saying, of every ten Chinese who immigrate, three die, six remain, and only one returns (T'ien 1956-2).

TABLE 4

000 Number of Licensed Sawmills in Operation
1947 - 1967

1947	18
1951	46
1956	63
1959	70
1962	80
1967	124

benefitted through revenue derived from royalties and permits paid by logging companies and sawmills for the right to cut timber, and from export duties. Most timber exploitation takes place on Stateland, and timber operators must obtain permits and pay royalties before they can carry out their operations.[31]

The owners and shareholders of timber companies have appreciated generous returns from their investments. The profits realized on Rejang forests have been plied into exploitation of forests in the Miri and Bintulu Districts of Sarawak, and into the Pontianak region of Kalimantan. Owners have consolidated their assets and assured their securities by forming holding companies, such as Delta Holdings, and branching into or incorporating other business, principally banking and the construction

[31] J. R. Palmer, Forest Section Officer, has written that "the aim of the control at the moment is to ensure that all merchantable timber is taken in an orderly and thorough manner, not so as to ensure regeneration. This is because the bulk of the exploitation is taking place on Stateland, outside the forest reserves, and is essentially a salvage felling operation prior to the complete clearance of the forest for agricultural development." (SG 1323, 31 May, 1968).

TABLE 5

000 Revenue for the Year 1967

Royalties and Permits	
First Division	$ 2,341,074.28
Second Division	844,380.88
Third Division	5,045,381.05
Fourth Division	
(i) Miri	3,264,721.95
(ii) Bintulu	884,729.57
Fifth Division	535,425.77
	$ 12,915,713.50
Export Duties	
Timber (Ramin)	2,104,728.29
Forest Produce	54,521.74
Total Forest Revenue	$ 15,074.963.53

industry. The fortunes that have been accumulated have permitted the nouveaux riches to engage in displays of wealth and power vis-a-vis others, through the construction of large houses, the public giving of philanthropic gifts,[32] the use of chauffeur-driven, air-conditioned cars, partronage of sporting competitions, and sending children abroad to private schools.[33]

[32] An interesting correlation between such gifts and the acquisition of political power was the increase in philanthropic activities prior to the elections in 1969 (which were postponed due to the Kuala Lumpur riots of May 13).

[33] Not a totally impractical move in light of anticipated language requirements in higher secondary school examinations.

000 Until mid-1971, increasingly large numbers of indigenes and Chinese enjoyed employment in sawmills and logging operations. Before the decline in the timber trade because a fall in demand by importing countries coupled with an increase in royalties imposed by Government, employers in these operations provided work for an estimated 20,000 workers and were the largest employers of industrial labor in the State. As of March, 1971, a total of 6,339 were employed in the Sibu Section of the Forest Department. In addition, recruitment of workers for other areas such as Miri, Bintulu and Indonesian Borneo, is done to 464 some extent through the Sibu-based offices. In a survey of 37 longhouses in the District, everyone had one or more persons who has worked or is working in some aspect of timber. In some instances, workers commute daily from nearby longhouses as, for instance, from the aggregate at Baweng Assan to Kong Thai Sawmill. In other cases, they live in camps for several weeks as workers from Melangan in the Batang Lassa camps. [648] In still others, workers who are recruited for jobs in the Fifth Division or Indonesia will form part of gangs[34] and may remain away for from two to ten years. Employment in the timber trade has greatly increased the

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[466] [34] Recruitment for such gangs is done through an Iban iiin ("agent") who ngambi konterik ("get the contract") and enlists relatives and friends and others, if he can get enough of the first two, and receives a commission for recruitment.

Employment in the timber trade has greatly increased the buying power of both indigenes and Chinese who have in turn passed their resources on to Sibu shopkeepers.[35]

In addition to employment, Ibans have benefitted from concessions paid by timber companies for rights to fell "communal forests" (SG 31 August, 1953). Gifts, in the form of drinks and money (kantau), are made to the tuai rumah and through him to the tuai bilik. When agreement on terms is reached, the tuai rumah involved will present the request on behalf of the company - and at the expense of the company[36] - to Government for a logging permit, and the money paid by the company will be divided between the pengulu, tuai rumah and tuai bilik.[37]

A fourth factor in the development of Sibu as related to the timber industry has been the investment of local people in residences and the booming construction industry. The expansion of the timber industry has gone hand-in-glove with the building trade in Sibu's rise to affluence,[38] and again must be seen in perspective of the political

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

[35] An increasing number of Ibans are opening savings accounts in the Sibu banks. For example, a leading bank handles an estimated 3,000 savings accounts for Ibans.

[36] In but one instance, two tuai rumah flew to Kuching and were given M$200 belanja luar ("pocket-money") by the company on whose behalf they were requesting a permit.

[37] According to a reliable informant, of every ten dollars, six goes to the pengulu, two to the tuai rumah, and the remainder is divided among the tuai bilik equally.

[38] According to a statement published in the Borneo Bulletin, 8 May, 19 , p. 23, a Sibu insurance agent places the number of millionaires in Sibu at "about 100," with 10 multi-millionaires, the wealth in almost every case coming form timber, building, or land.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

TABLE 6

Number of People Employed in Timber March, 1971

SARIKEI

No.*	Malay	Chinese	Iban	Melanau	Others
1.	5	300	1		
2.	5	63	5	2	
3.	34	40	10	30	10
4.	15	20	20	6	2
5.	1	43	19	28	7(Kayan)
6.	15	30	57	20	4
7.				58	
8.		49			
9.	5	20	8		
10.	3	5	1		
11.		14		40	
12.					
13.	7	110	8		
14.	6	25	32		
15.					
16.	19	53	10	4	
17.	1	20	5		
18.	4	8	14		
19.					
20.	6	7	12	108	1(Kayan)
21.	98	67		17	
22.	59	8	2		
23.					
24.	6	122		4	
25.		30			
26.	8	30			
27.		3			
28.					
29.	2	3	2		
30.					
31.					
32.	5	101	20		
	268	39	76	5	3 (Belalang Plywood Factory-Forest, 2nd D.,)(Ding Brothers Moulding Plant, No Forest)
TOTALS	574	1520	302	342	27

*No. refers to names of companies operating in Sibu Section as on Map, Figure 2.

TABLE 6 (Cont'd)

NO	Malay	Chinese	Iban	Melanau	Others
464 1.					
162 2.	100	7		200	
3.					
4.					
5.		5		164	
6.	70	10	70	150	
7.				235	
8.					
9.	50			100	
10.		3	30		
11.				32	
12.					
13.	317			56	
14.					
15.					
16.	65			82	
17.				55	
18.	99	1			
19.	100				
20.	57	3	17	56	
21.		1	29	160	
22.					
23.					
24.			10	200	
25.					
26.					
27.		7			
28.					
29.		53	102		
30.					
31.					
32.		10	22	80	
			165		
			200		
	100				
TOTALS	998	100	645	1570	

TABLE 6 (Cont'd)

BATTING

No	Malay	Chinese	Iban	Melanau	Others
1.					
2.	30		10		
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.	55		7		
7.					
8.					
9.				6	
10.			5		
11.				4	
12.					
13.	22		2		
14.					
15.					
16.				14	
17.	16		5	5	
18.	8				
19.	10				
20.					
21.					
22.					
23.					
24.	21				
25.					
26.		10	3		
27.					
28.					
29.		2	3	17	
30.					
31.					
32.	6				
TOTALS	168	12	35	46	

000 instability in mainland China during the 1950's and 1960's. During the past two decades, Sibu underwent a rapid housing expansion, consisting of scores of two- and three-story apartment houses on the side-roads off Lanang Road, the proliferation of shophouses with living quarters on the second story, and the development of middle-class housing projects, such as Hin Yu Park, and more recently, Ai Ding Gardens and Delta Estates. At present, 700 low cost houses are being built by the Borneo Development Company "to meet the acute housing shortage in the booming timber town" (The Vanguard, 29 September, 1970, p. 1).

Timber has been the leading export product since 1964. About four-fifths of Sarawak's total timber output is exported to more than 20 different countries, as indicated in the Table of Exports for the year 1967 (see page 51). Until the late 1950's, most of the timber was exported in the form of unsawn logs. Since the beginning of the last decade, operators have given increasing attention to the development of pioneer industries to manufacture wood products. In 1961, the Borneo Timber Company opened a modern, well-equipped factory at Sungai Merah, Sibu, for the manufacture of ramin moldings. The factory employs some 400 workers at present, some from Iban communities at Sungai Aup and Rawang Aasan. Several of the larger sawmills have started to produce dowels, moldings and furniture parts, and if suitable markets can be found, there are good prospects for further expansion of the timber

[464]

processing industry in Sarawak.

At the time of this writing, the timber industry is in a state of recession, primarily due to two factors. First, some of the primary markets are overstocked with Sarawak timber, and do not demand new shipments. For example, it is estimated that there is about one-half million tons of timber afloat in Japan awaiting use. China's order for M$3 million andthe Republic of Korea's statement that it will place orders are encouraging signs.

A second factor is the imposition of higher royalties on a number of species of timber by Government. With the cost of production on some timbers at $90 per ton and a selling price of only $105 per ton a high royalty makes it difficult for operators to make a profit, in some cases to come out even. In addition, forest policy decrees that when a logging company cuts a block of forest, it must cut not only the valuable, but other timber as well.

The intention of the Government in the imposition of high royalties is to discourage the export of timber logs from the State and to encourage the development of wood-based industries as a main source for earning foreign exchange (Sarawak Tribune, 22 August, 1971, p. 1).

Although the period when large profits were made is past, logging and wood-based industries are still important to the Sarawak economy. In addition to Sarawak timbers, some companies are importing timber for

processing and manufacture from Indonesia.

4. Rice

243 262 771 Rice is the basic food among the Ibans and other peoples of Sarawak, and, as will be discussed later, much ritual and religious belief is associated with every aspect of rice cultivation. From the inauguration of the annual activities with augury and ceremonial claiming of the fields to be farmed, until the concluding crooning to the rice-spirit as the grain is stored away, the acquisition of rice is an all-embracing way of life among the Ibans, touching on every aspect 192 261 of their lives. To eat(makai) means, in Iban, to eat rice. And no matter how filling and varied other foods are, an Iban has not eaten until he has partaken of rice.[39]

243 162 According to the 1960 census (Jones 1960: 260-1), 46 per cent of the total Sarawak population depended either entirely or primarily on rice cultivation for their living. As indicated in Table 7 on the following page, Ibans account for almost two-thirds of all rice farmers. And of the total economically active Iban population, almost 89 per cent are engaged entirely or primarily in rice cultivation.

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[39] After eating a large dinner- but no rice - with our family, some Iban visitors left and went to the pasar to eat. When we accidentally encountered them at their second meal, we apologized for their going away hungary, "Oh no, they politely replied, your food was very good, but we hadn't eaten (rice) yet."

TABLE 7

Rice Farmers, 1960

243
463
162
171

	Persons engaged primarily in rice farming	Percentage of all rice farmers	Economically active population	Percentage economically active population in rice farming
Malay	20,220	11.9	42,975	47.1
Melanau	4,599	2.7	17,712	26.0
Land Dayak	19,878	11.7	23,498	84.6
Iban	108,889	64.2	122,701	88.7
Other indigenous	13,959	8.2	17,042	81.9
Chinese	1,734	1.0	67,171	2.6
Europeans	-----	----	769	-----
Others	387	0.2	2,417	16.0
Sarawak Totals	169,666	99.9	294,285	57.6

243 In the Third Division, both hill rice (padi bukit) and swamp rice (padi paya) are grown. Although some hill rice is grown in all of the Districts of the Third Division, most is it is grown in the Kapit District. In the agricultural year of 1969-1970, an estimated 77,780 acres were planted with hill rice with an average yield of 110 to 140 gantangs per acre.[40] Swamp rice is grown on the flat, louland soils, especially [654] in the Sibu and Mukah Districts. The average yield per acre for 1969-1970 was 250 gantangs of padi, and for those who participated in the skim padi ("Assistance to Wet-Padi Planters Scheme," initiated on a small scale in 1959 and considerably expanded under the Sarawak Development Plan,

[40] A gantang is a dry measure, containing about four kati (5 1/3 pounds) of unhusked rice (padi) or six kati (8 pounds) of husked rice (beras). Average consumption per adult male is four gantang, per female three gantang per month.

243 1964-1968; cf. p. 35), the average yields were as much as twice that [654] amount.

TABLE 8

**Rice Planted and Yields,
Third Division
1970-1971**

District/Sub-Districts	Swamp Padi	Hill Padi
Sibu	3,500 piculs	2,000 piculs
Mukah	2,260 piculs	4,230 piculs
Balingian	6,600 piculs	3,560 piculs
Dalat	780 piculs	2,080 piculs
Kanowit	1,200 piculs	5,190 piculs
Kapit	420 piculs	38,000 piculs
Song	160 piculs	12,700 piculs
Belaga	150 piculs	10,000 piculs
Total planted	17,070 piculs	77,780 piculs
Estimated Yield	200,000 piculs	400,000 piculs

Not all harvested padi is edible rice. At best, only about 75 per cent of the best, full-kerneled grains are obtained for eating, the remainder being separated into husks or chaff for animal fodder. At worst, as little as one-third of a crop yields food.

The multiplex of factors already discussed-pests, erratic rainfall, casual attitudes about planting and weeding, poor soils - all combine to make rice-cultivation an uncertain undertaking in most of Sarawak. On this point, Jackson writes:

243

> "The results of the 1960 census of Agriculture reveal the bare subsistence level of Sarawak's rice farmers, for only 35.9 per cent of all the padi-growing farms enumerated, produced sufficient rice for family requirements. In only five Districts (Sibu, Miri, Baram, Limbang and Lawas) did more than half the enumerated farms satisfy domestic needs; over large areas less than one-third of the farms were in this position, and certain areas of serious shortage emerge. Rice farming, therefore, 'is more a way of life than an economic source of livelihood!.'"

In a survey of 37 longhouse communities in the Sibu District, the author found that in only about 36 per cent of all the cases was sufficient rice produced to last a family from one harvet until the next. In 64 per cent of the cases, rice had to be obtained through sale of rubber, pepper, jungle produce, or other goods, or through hiring out to a more successful member of the same longhouse.[41]

000 From the above information, it is obvious that virtually all of the rice consumed in the Sibu town area is imported from outside the District. Further, much of the rice consumed in the rural areas as well has to be obtained beyond the District, and there is no rice available for export. Rice is the staple food in the diet of the

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[621] [41] The popular notion of the communal longhouse where members share and share alike is erroneous. A common saying among Ibans is, Bilik siti beka menoa siti ("A family is like an independent country" - self-supporting and independent). Tuai Rumah Imba of Durin Road is justly famous for his continuous success in farming. He has been able to have fish-ponds dug, obtains vegetables and fish daily- in exchange for rice.

000 people of Sarawak, but 40 per cent still is imported from Australia, Theiland, Kedah (West Malaysia), and China annually.[42]

5. Pepper

Next to rubber, pepper is Sarawak's most valuable agricultural export, and during the post-war era, Sarawak has ranked with Indonesia and India as one of the three leading world producers. Although there is a long history of pepper planting in parts of Sarawak, the foundations for the modern industry were laid by the Second Rajah who offered free passage and free land, along with other concessions and monetary assistance to Chinese planters from Singapore.

In the Sibu District, the Foochow immigrants planted pepper in the early 1900's, but booming rubber prices together with severe limitations of well-drained soils available to them, resulted in the eclipse of pepper by rubber. The expansion of the Foochow and Cantonese settlements into Binatang and Sarikei was accompanied by the planting of hundreds of pepper gardens. In 1970, a total of 45,729.72 piculs of white pepper were exported from the Third Division, of which 1,700 came from the Sibu District. An amount of 64,545.68 piculs of black pepper were exported from the Third Division in 1970, with 2,000 piculs from the Sibu District.

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[42] In 1969, imports of rice equalled almost exactly the income received from exports of rubber.

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177 Although the pepper industry remains largely a Chinese preserve, many Ibans have realized that pepper is a supplement to rubber as a source of cash income and, where soil conditions are suitable, have planted pepper gardens. In this District, the areas where pepper is planted include Salim, Durin, Naman, Sungai Teku, Sungai Maung, Aup and Bukit Lan.

Pepper planting is a new venture to most Ibans who have been attracted to this speculative crop because of the profits it yields as well as because it is a substitute for slumping rubber. The Iban does not have sufficient capital to plant the vines in large numbers, and in most cases plants between 150 and 350 vines. He must purchase the vines, [654] belian posts (tuat) on which they climb, and fertilizers. The Agriculture Department helps with herbicides and pesticides. The Iban also does not have the experience that the Chinese brings to pepper gardening, and his plants suffer accordingly. His inexperience manifests itself as he plants in poorly drained soil, does not practice balanced fertilization, or sprays his plants with pesticides that are too strong, [433] in more than one case causing the leaves to fall off. Consequently, the Iban planter realizes a yield of between four and five katis per vine, whereas the Chinese averages between eight to ten katis per vine.

244 Vines begin bearing after three years, and harvesting is done annually between May and August. After the berries are picked, they are

244 transported to the longhouse (in the case of Ibans) where they are sorted and cleaned by members of the family, men, women, and children alike on the ruai. After being thoroughly cleaned, the pepper is dried on the tanju' and turned with a wooden rake. When the pepper is dry, it is transferred to gunny-sacks which, when full, weigh about 150 katis.

[434] On an average, an Iban planter receives an annual income of approximately M$1,500 from 250 vines.

THE EARLY HISTORY

000 Sibu Town had its beginnings amidst the tempestuous period of the mid-nineteenth century, when major changes were occurring in the population, the settlement patterns and political structure in the northwestern Borneo territory. James Brooke arrived in Sarawak in 1841, an adventurer who took advantage of the political divisions to establish himself in Kuching and from there to expand his authority to include the territory which today is the State of Sarawak. The area including the present Sibu District was part of the land ceded to the first Rajah in 1853 by the Sultan of Brunei.[1]

A. The Melanaus

Orginally, the Rejang was home primarily to a scattered population of Melanaus and Segalangs in the delta region, Kanowits, Beliuns and Tanjongs in the middle Rejang, and Kayans, Bukitans, Lugats and others in the upper Rejang. The Melanaus shared certain similarities with the Kayans with whom they entered into aristocratic intermarriages. Haddon

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[1] Considerable confusion has existed about the extent of the territories ceded in the 1853 treaty, and Pringle's discussion of this matter is most helpful (1970-94n).

000 reports a visit to a Kayan cemetery near Sungai Seduan, the site of settlement of the first Foochow immigrants to Sarawak (1901-284-5).

William Maunder Crocker, an important figure in the early period of Charles Brooke's administration, placed the Melanaus at

> "the mouths of the Rejang, Blawi, Palo, Bruit, Egan, Madan, Oya, Muka and Bintulu"

and estimated their number at 30,000. The origins of the Melanaus are uncertain, but on the basis of language, Lee suggests relationships between them and other indigenous groups such as the Kayans, rather than with the coastal Malays (1970-70). Following the coming of Islam, the Brunei hegemony spread around the coastal regions effectively controlling trade between indigenous groups and foreign traders, principally Chinese. As in the rise of Malacca to power, the Malay rulers from Brunei were not concerned so much for territorial expansion as for domination of trade.

The early contacts between the Melanaus and Malays were largely in the lower reaches of the rivers, the Malays not venturing far upriver. The Brunei Malays further established their positions through intermarriage between Brunei nobles and the daughters of Melanau chiefs,[2]

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[2]The Melanaus have a highly developed class system which especially becomes apparent in the gift-giving required of the lower class kin group when marrying with some one of a higher class (Clayre, personal communication, 12 September, 1971).

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

supplanting the Melanau chiefs and developing an aristocratic class whose descendants still live in many of the coastal areas (Aikman 1959-87).

The Melanaus of the middle and lower Rejang were still longhouse dwellers and relatively untouched by the Brunei Malays and Islam at the time of James Brooke's arrival in Kuching. They were the earliest known inhabitants of the present area of study, the only settlement in what is now the Sibu District being a small Melanau village at Kampong Nangka, a little way down the Igan from the Sibu pasar. Following the cession of the Rejang area in the treaties of 1853 and 1861, the Melanaus gave up their longhouse domicile gradually and built individual houses arranged in kampongs similar to the Malays.[3]

B. The Malays

The Malays were a coastal-dwelling people, engaged in fishing and trade. Many lived in a symbiotic relationship with inland people, exchanging salt and saltfish for rice, sago, and valuable jungle products

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[3] "At about 8 a.m. on Friday the 12th, the Melanau longhouse at Kampong Nangka caught fire and was burnt to the ground . . . This house is one of the last Melanau longhouses in the country. There is one more at Kampong Nangka, one at Jemoreng in the Matu District, and one (partially dismantled) at Medong above Dalat. These relics of a former era are interesting, and speak of the time when Melanaus had to band themselves together for mutual protection against Dayaks and Kayans" (SG 1 April, 1937), p. 94).

000 which they traded to Chinese who made occasional visits to Borneo. With the advent of Islam, the spread of activist attitudes and examples of political control and Dar-ul-Islam, the Malays extended a network of trade relations from Brunei to Tanjong Datu. As previously stated, the Malays like their Muslim counterparts in other parts of Southeast Asia, were not oriented to territorial domination but rather to the control of the strategic river mouths.[4] Francis R.O. Maxwell, an important officer under the Second Rajah, wrote on the area and control of the Malays, that

> "the Malays occupy the fringe of coast-land from the Dutch frontier, Tanjong Datu, northwards into the British North Borneo Company's territory. The coast-line between the Rejang River and the Tutong River is the original habitat of the Milanaus . . . but this does not imply that there are no Malays there. When this coast was under Brunei rule it was inhabitated by Malays, but mostly by Malays appointed by the Sultan to squeeze the Milanaus and traders to buy and otherwise acquire sago . . . In the same way there are Malay villages sixty or seventy miles up some of these rivers and the Dyaks are always complaining of the Malays encroaching on their lands."

It is necessary to establish that the Malay settlements were mainly coastal, as Harrisson asserts (1970). For, while there were inland Malay states based on lake-fishing on the Kapuas lakes

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[4] On the Malay political system in Western Malaya, Gullick writes that "the district was a territory shaped by the use of rivers as communications. A district was either an area lying on one or both sides of a reach of the main river of the State or it was a side valley down to the point of junction with the main stream. A fort at the downstream end of the district provided an effective means of control" (emphasis added) (1958-21).

0 00 (Molengraaff 1902), the Malays in general did not build inland settlements in other parts of Sarawak. When conditions were sufficiently peaceful, they ventured inland to trade. But when disturbances broke out or head-hunting forays took place, as, for example in the Rejang in the early 1870's, the Malays removed to the coastal regions.

174 Although some writers[5] have described the Malays as "the original
648 inhabitants of Sibu," there is little support for this, and evidence to the contrary that they entered the area from the west at about the same time as the Ibans invaded from the south. According to Benedict Sandin, whose accounts are largely corroborated by local informants,[6] strong alliances were formed between the Saribas-Skrang Ibans and Malays, to the mutual advantage of both groups. In league with the Malays, Iban warriors found a legitimization for their raiding activities. Booty and captives were shared. The Malays, capitalizing on long-standing factions among the Ibans, and upon the proclivity of certain groups for raiding, enlisted Ibans from different hostile areas as allies in their

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[5] "The original inhabitants of Sibu were Malays and Melanaus. There were no Dayaks" (Dato Tuanku Bujang 1966-5).

[6] Interviews with Tuai Rumah Ampan, Assan; Tuba Aki Polly, Bawang Assan; Changgan Apai Tigong, Sengan.

174 own intra-ethnic conflicts. The Iban's value of headhunting among
648 enemies found expression, and the Malay chiefs were able to secure their positions through the followings they built up.

Thus, the invasion of the Rajang area in general, but Sibu in particular, opened new lands not only to the Ibans, but also to the Malays. Seeking to keep their heads, while taking advantage of the riches of the virgin Rajang territory, the Malays entered and built settlements, continued their trade for jungle produce and rice in exchange for salt and fish.[7]

C. The Ibans

175 Apart from the arrival and establishment of the Brooke Raj,
648 the Iban migrations of the nineteenth century were the most important
166 events of that century. While the migrations doubtlessly would have occurred without the Brookes, the migrations were influenced in a number of respects by Brooke government and were influential in the development of Government policies.

175 Because of the lack of historical data, the length of time in-
166 volved, and the numerous rivers and streams in Sarawak, the migrations tend to be confusing and the factors involved in them complex when dis-

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[608] [7]Fraternal relations still exist among Malays and Ibans, and when the latter are asked, Sapa ke udong nuan ("Who is your (ritual or trading)brother?" the answer almost always is, Orang Melayu, "A Malay."

175 cernible. At the opening of the nineteenth century, the Ibans were
166 largely living in the upriver areas of the Batang Lupar and Batang
[167] Saribas and their tributaries in the Second Division. They had migrated from the Kapuas headwaters in Kalimantan across the watershed into Sarawak territory some time earlier. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, groups of Iban families had begun to penetrate the headwaters of the Katibas (Freeman 1955-11-20) and the Sarikei (Cooper 1966-23), and by 1850, they had reached the vicinity of the Rejang.[8]

By the early 1830's other families from the Lemanak, Skrang and Layar had migrated to the Entabai and Julau valleys and the headwaters of the Kanowit River. Commenting on the presence of Ibans in the Kanowit, Charles Brooke wrote early in 1859,

> "This stream is inhabited by Sea Dayaks, who have for the last fifteen or twenty years been migrating from the Saribas and Skrang districts for the purpose of obtaining new farming grounds. These exoduses took place over-land between one river and another. Such parties would do their four or five days' march, then build their houses, and proceed to farm for one or two years, after which they would recommence their march, and so on, until they arrived at their final destination."

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[657] [8] Cooper writes that Sherip Masahor (1810-1890) "removed his headquarters to Sarikei, a small town on the river Rejang, and became very friendly with the Iban people living nearby" (1966-23). Sometime before the arrival of James Brooke, "Masahor took over the administration of the Rejang district for the Sultan of Brunei", indicating that the Ibans had reached the vicinity of the Rejang prior to Brooke's coming in 1841. (ibid.)

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While Freeman is basically correct in his recognition of a two-pronged movement from the Second Division into the Rejang via the Katibas and Kanowit rivers, these were but two of the major avenues through which the Ibans moved. The migrations were not highly organized ventures involving hundreds of people, but were the gradual, continuous movements of people farming, hunting and gathering, then pressing on to new lands. Ibans from Saribas and the Krian moved to Sarikei and Binatang, and from there spread to other areas of the lower Rejang, Sibu and even to Song. Saribas Ibans also settled in parts of the Kanowit and its tributaries, especially the Julau. Skrang and Lemanak Ibans moved into the Kanowit, the former from there to Durin, the latter to the Poi and Ngemah tributaries of the Rejang and from the Poi to the Batang Igan below Sibu. Upon reaching the Rejang, the Ibans began the gradual ascent of other uninhabited tributaries, felling and clearing the jungles, until they reached the headwaters of the branches to the north as well as to the south.

These migrations have occurred within the past century and a half. At the time of publication of Ten Years in Sarawak by the Second Rajah in 1866, the Ibans had not migrated to the areas north or east of the Rejang. Within the past century, they have become the most numerous group in the Third Division and established in large numbers in the Fourth and Fifth Divisions.

175 D. Factors Relating to Iban Migrations

166 In his discussions of the Iban migrations, Pringle writes that

> "the development of Iban 'piracy may be regarded as one symptom of a remarkable outburst of human energy which also led to the simultaneous commencement of Iban migration to the Third Division at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This expansion, both 'piratical' and territorial, could not have taken place without population growth, but it seems equally clear that it was linked to something other than demographic pressure."

On the same point, he writes:

> "It was also suggested that the further expansion of Iban settlement into the Rejang, which began not long before the First Rajah's arrival, was connected somehow with a more general florescence of Iban energies. This sudden ferment, the causes of which are unkown, also resulted in the simultaneous outbreak of Iban 'piracy' in the coastal waters of northwest Borneo."

Although admittedly there is much that must remain unkown, for want of information, about the factors and causes involved in the Iban migrations of the nineteenth century, nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence for us to make certain inferences that point to more than a "general florescence of Iban energies." On the basis of available data, we may suggest the following factors as contributing to these migrations.

1. Demographic Pressures

175 First, the Ibans were shifting cultivators facing demographic
166 pressures due to population growth. One element which continually has
161 kept the Ibans on the move has been their population increases in

175 combination with generally poor soils and the techniques of shifting
166 cultivators. The estimate of 50,000 Ibans living in the Second
161 Division in the early nineteenth century does not seem excessive and, indeed, may be quite low in light of the present Iban population of 330,000, achieved with an increase of 1.7 per cent per annum.[9]

The Second Division is an area of 4,129 square miles, into [114] which the Ibans moved during the nineteenth century. A quick calculation reveals that the population density did not approach the figure of 46 persons per square mile, Freeman's estimate of the maximum number that could occupy an area for cultivation and allow the optimum fallow time of 12 years (1955-134, 136). But, Freeman's estimate does not take into consideration the fact that much land in Sarawak is not suitable for cultivation. As Lee notes:

> "Although the density for the country as a whole is still very low, there are areas in Sarawak where pressure of population on land resources is becoming acute. It must also be remembered that much of the empty areas of Sarawak will not have a large carrying capacity. The coastal peat-swamp forests and the inaccessible, hilly interior with only small patches of flat fertile and have little potential value for settlement and agriculture."

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[9] For references and discussion of early sources on Sarawak's population see J. L. Noakes, "The Growth of the Population of Sarawak," in L. W. Jones 1960-319-24.

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The Second Division, like all Divisions in Sarawak, contains a mixture of good and poor soils, of peat swamps and shale hills as well as more fertile land. And population increases and shorter periods of fallowing between cultivation, resulted in diminishing yields in some areas of the Second Division.

Population pressures were not only a physical but also a cultural phenomenon. The Ibans' desire for virgin jungle for hill rice farming has long been recognized. By the end of the nineteenth century, even after thousands of their peers had migrated to the Third Division and beyond, the Residents reported an increasing number of litigations over land.[10] Such disputes are rare where there still is plenty of unfelled jungle for the taking (cf. Freeman 1955-22), but most common in the Sibu District where land prices are highly inflated, and needless to say, there is no kampong lama' ("old jungle"). Confirming this point, one reliable source stated,

> "When our grandparents settled in this area, you could travel for a day or two (by dugout and paddle) before you came to another house. Now, you can't go even half-an-hour. When they came, there were no land disputes because land was plentiful. Now, there's no end of cases."

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[10] See Bailey's Reports, SG No. 406, 1 November 1899, and No. 451, 4 August 1903.

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2. Value of New Land

175 166 183 Implicit in the population pressures was a second factor, the obverse of the first, the Iban cultural value of new land. The Ibans are themost expansive and aggressive of the indigenous peoples of [484] Sarawak. The institution of pejalai included, among other purposes such as the validation of the Iban male, the reconnitering of new lands [501] and other people. In one account,[11] two brothers, Baji and Tagi', sons of Baring, on a pejalai from the Skrang, made a bark canoe (utap),[12] and travelled down the Kanowit. Coming out onto the broad expanse of the Rajang, they were astounded to find how flat the land was. They travelled as far as Bukit Lan below Sibu, then returned to bring their families to the land just waiting for the taking.

3. The Pioneer

175 166 554 [184] A third factor, related to the migrations and high value of new land in Iban culture, was the traditional class system. More will be said of this ina a later chapter, but contrary to what Freeman has written about the Ibans of the Sut, the Ibans in the Sibu District had a well-developed class consciousness, which still obtains among them, [423] particularly in the arrangement of marriages. During the nineteenth century, the pioneer (ke mubok menoa baru, "who opens up new land")

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[115] [11]Interview with Tuai Rumah Ampan, 16 November, 1970.

[12]Such craft are still occasionally made for trips from headwaters, and abandoned after a single trip.

195 166 559 423 thereby achieved distinction for himself and secured land-rights for his descendants. Land was power, and latecomers had to make requests for land from the descendants of the pioneers. The climb to the position of aristocrat (raja berani, "brave and rich") had to commence 173 166 555 with pioneering. The names of pioneers who opened up new territories are still remembered by their descendants,[13] as well as the feats they accomplished and their pom de guerre. In one account,

> "The first Ibans to move to Sarikei were led by Nuga (Who Cut Off The Rejand Tidal Bore) who settled at Sari'. When (Pengulu) Abas heard that Nuga was at Sari', he walked overland from Paku' to Selalang, and urged Nuga to cross the Rajang. 'We can't,' replied Nuga,' for the Beliun (Melanau), occupy that land, and we can't fight Tugau.' Nevertheless, at Abas' insistence, they crossed over and drove out the Melanaus, who scattered to Oya, Mukah, Balingian and Bintulu."[14]

The high degree of consonance between narratives related by informants in the Second and Third Divisions supports the credibility of

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[13] which tends to be confusing because of the plethora of names, but therein illustrates the abundance and independence of movements that took place. (Tuai Rumah Ampan, 23 October, 1970).

539 [14] Text: Ke mula mula ia Iban datai di Sarikai, Nuga, ensumbar ia, Mantap Bena Pangka Pasang, ke diau di Sari. Ninga Nuga udah di Sari, Abas bedarat ari Paku ka Selalang, ngumbok Nuga ngelayang Batang Rajang. Batang Rajang enda ulih dipelanggang laban di-uan Beliun, ko Nuga, lalu kitai enda te-alah ka Tugau. Tang, diumbok Abas, saduai ngalah ka Belium ka rari ngagai Oya, Mukah, Balingian enggau Bintulu.

193 the accounts.[15] For example, two lemambang (bards), one from Bavang
166 Assam, another from Song, independently supported the following accounts about famous pioneers to the Rejang:

> "Igoh apai Lamban came from the Ulu Layar to the Sarikei in search of new land. He had been a leading warrior... There was no quarrel in the Layar which forced him to migrate; he wanted to be a pioneer and to seek new lands (emphasis added).
>
> "At about the same time Mujah (Buah Raya) led the first migrations into the Ulu Julau, a branch of the Kanowit tributary of the Rejang. (Since other areas were already settled), Mujah kept on looking for new land, and thus came to Julau. Upon his arrival, he and his followers fought against the Rejangs, Tanjongs, Kanowits, Ukits and Lugats in many parts of the Rejang" (emphasis added)

4. Raiding and Headhunting

175 A fourth factor contributing either directly or indirectly to
166 the migrations was the high value of raiding and headhunting, practiced
721 by some but, it is important to note, not all, Ibans. Without imputing
[24] any causal relationship, those Ibans were shifting cultivators who practiced
[773] headhunting. The charter for headhunting was mythical in character, being contained in the instructions given by the spirit Puntang Raga to Serapoh: Ulit orang ke mati enda tau enda diketas enggau pala munsoh ("Mourning for the dead must be cut away with an enemy's head," Sandin 1962-12).

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[15] Particularly when they are quick to discredit one another whenever the opportunity arises.

175 Living amidst or at the edge of other indigenous groups, the
648 Ibans were involved in a contest for the land. This does not imply that other land was not available, but that the other groups often hunted and gathered in areas that the Ibans found desirous for rice cultivation. With some people, for example, the Bukitans, the Ibans formed alliances, the Bukitans serving as guides to Ibans in new territories and eventually adopting rice cultivation and the longhouse
[727] organization from the Ibans (Freeman 1955-14-15). Other groups either were driven out by the Ibans, as in the case of the Melanaus, Punans, Ukits, Kayans and Siams (SG No. 288, 1890-13, 151, 194; 1904 No. 466, 211; 1919 No. 765, March 17; 1920, No. 798, 175), or were captured as ulun berani ("slaves of braves") and thereby assimilated in the lowest class of Iban society.

175 Headhunting was an integral part of the Iban grammar of values,
721 as Sandin makes abundantly clear in his discussion of the Gawai Antu
765 ("Feast of the Departed Spirits," SMJ 1963-321-326). In a Gawai Antu
183 observed by this author, the climax of the three-day celebration, costing an estimated M$30,000, came when two old braves who had taken human heads (ke bedengah) drank the sacred rice-wine (ai garong). Only two men were eligible to drink the ai garong at that feast, for they must have taken a human head. These men were accorded places of honor and
000 their deeds recounted in song. Since the termination of headhunting

Since the termination of headhunting and the opening of military employment to Ibans as trackers with forces in Malaya, the Sarawak Rangers, or the Field Force, thousands of young Iban men have found it possible to fulfill their cultural expectations through participation in the military.

Another aspect of the migrations that was related to the raiding and headhunting activities of the Ibans was that some moved to escape the predatory activities of their own kind. For example, Ibans moved from the Lemanak because they were caught in the pincer-like movements of the Saribas and Skrang Ibans. One informant, commenting on the reason his people moved to Bawang Assan via Stras, Binatang, said,[16]

> "We were weary of being raided every year or two. We would harvest our rice and acquire a few things, only to be hit in a raid, and lose everything, if not our lives. So, we figured it was easier to move."

It is apparent from the above that not all Ibans participated in raiding and headhunting. These feats of bravery were carried out by bands of young braves (to use Sandin's word) at the expense of fellow Ibans or people of other groups.

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[16] Text: Kami nyau puas diserang tiap taun tauka dua tuan. Udah kami ngetau lalu bulih utai mimit, tak diserang, nyau semoa sebuti' nyawa kami enda. Nya alai, ko ati kami, nyamai agi pindah. (Anyau Bakit, interview, 15 September, 1969).

5. "Big Men" among "big men"

175 166 648 A fifth factor contributing to the Iban migrations of the nineteenth century, one which must necessarily be discussed in some detail, was a deep resentment of the Brookes' paternalism and interference with traditional ways of life. The Ibans were oriented to a high degree of mobility and independence, and reacted to the invasions of their lives by an authoritarian government with the time-honored [184] reactions of fight and flight. Iban society has always been (and is) highly factionalized, and the leadership patterns show numerous parallels with the "big man" complex of Melanesia, as will be discussed below.

183 [562] [554] [304] Adapting as they did to an environment of relatively limited productivity in which they had to move every five or six years, the Ibans placed a premium on the achievements of the individual, especially the male: pejalai, pioneering, headhunting, success in farming, and tattooing (an ordeal in design to see whether a man could withstand physical pain),[17] among others.

592 We have mentioned the autonomy and independence of the bilik family, which produced and consumed its own food. On this point,

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[17] Several Iban men explaining why they were untattooed stated quite unashamedly that they couldn't stand the pain. Tattooing is done with five needles tied together, the points dipped in soot and driven under the skin. It is a rapidly disappearing form of art and type of ordeal.

592 Freeman wrote,

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> ". . .The unbroken expanse of roof tends to conceal the fact that the Iban long-house is fundamentally a series of discrete entities: the independent family units of a competitive and egalitarian (sic) society."

554 Oriented to the independence and achievement of the individual, and to the autonomy of the bilik family, and practicing shifting cultivation with little if any surplus, the Ibans supported no permanent leaders. [624] Leaders (tuai) who were recognized were of an ad hoc nature such as the war leader (tuai serang), who ratified their positions by their performances. [622] The tuai rumah adjudicated disputes because of his knowledge of the history of settlements in his area and of adat ("customary law"). [173] [538] [750] The orang tau tusut was consulted when marriages were arranged because of his knowledge of genealogies; the lemambang ("bard") for various gawai was the repository of lore; and the manang ("shaman") for his ability to handle physical and psychical illnesses. But these and other officiants were in no sense chiefs, nor did they enjoy any power beyond that afforded by the recognition of their constituents.

175 555 624 During the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the highest pangkat (status) that could be achieved by an Iban male was raja berani. A man could achieve recognition as raja berani only through a fortuitous combination of pioneering, successful farming,

175 activity as a brave warrior and advance guard (buloh balang), and,
555 after building up a following, an outstanding career as a war leader.
624 Lintong (war-name, Moa Hari, "Cloud" or "Face of the Day"), was recognized as raja berani, as was the late Pengulu Gani Apai Engkamat of Bawang Assan.[18] The descendants of these men still enjoy prestige and deference as offspring of raja berani.

[171] The status of the raja berani parallels in several respects that of the Melanesian "big man."[19] Like the "big man," the raja
[183] berani was verbally persuasive. Fluency and cleverness of speech
[157] (landik bejako') are valued among the Ibans, and every successful leader at whatever level is an able speaker. Though a man may possess other admirable qualities and enjoy success in farming or business, if he cannot speak convincingly, any aspirations he may have for leadership are likely to go unrewarded.[20]

[157] Again, as with the "big man," the raja berani were highly competitive. There is both resistance to any appearance of submission and reluctance to the surrender of his independence on the part of the

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[18] Pengulu Gani's obituary appeared in the local papers, and in such foreign papers as the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette when he died in 1959.

[19] The modern Iban counterpart is the local politican.

[20] In longhouses where the tuai rumah is a poor speaker, a deputy (mandal) who is an able speaker represents him in welcoming guests and in helping to handle disputes.

175 555 624 Iban, making the acquisition of followers and accumulation of political capital most difficult for the leader. Yet, at the same time, the Iban is willing, even desirous, of giving his support to any leader from whom he anticipates rewards.[21] Aware of this, the raja berani built followings through promises of adventure, plunder (perepasan) and heads (antu pala'). Because of the fragile nature of ties between leaders and followers, the former constantly sought to re-inforce [157] their holds on their anerbiak ("followers"). As Sahlins wrote of the "big man," so, too, the raja berani formerly (and his modern politician counterpart)

> "combines with an ostensible interest in the general welfare a more profound measure of self-interested cunning and economic calculation. His gaze. . . is fixed unswervingly to the main chance.[22] His every public action is designed to make a competitive and invidious comparison with others, to show a standing above the masses that is produce of hisown manufacturing."

The competition to build and maintain a following exerted considerable pressure both on the raja berani as it does on the modern Iban

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[431] [178] [21] Traditional leader-follower relations were built on exchange of loyalty for booty and heads. Present ones are based on kantau, gifts not infrequently of money.

[22] An ambitious young Iban, forced to choose between running for Council Negri and accepting the scholarship offered him to the United States, chose the latter, calculating the long-range gains to be greater. (1963-291).

politician.[23] For Iban anembiak have always been quick to discredit a leader who abuses his privileges by neglecting them,[24] and equally quick to transfer their loyalties to another leader who may promise more or give rewards. The implications of this high degree of competition are ominous for the Ibans' ventures into modern politics, for

> "this fragmentation of true authority presents special political difficulties, particularly in organizing large masses of people for the prosecution of such collective ends as warfare or ceremony."

or enlisting support at the polls.[25]

The indicative quality of the raja berani, like the "big man," was personal power. He did not succeed to his office, but achieved his position, through bravery in war, mastery of oratorical style, farming prowess, all of which were demonstration of magical power and good fortune (tuah limpah), the aim of Iban prayers.

It was into this competitive and factionalized system of unstable political alliances that the Brookes came, as "Big Man" among "big men."

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[23] Cf. Leigh, 1970.

[24] Although well-known, the Iban Pesaka Party candidates in the Sibu District were defeated to a man in the election of 1970 for neglecting their constituents.

[25] The intramural conflicts and undercutting that has taken place between the Iban leaders of the Party Pesaka have divided the supporters and resulted in their disaffection. (ibid.).

175 648 184 It is untrue to say that the Brookes created the factions, for divisions are a part of Iban society at every level.[26] What occurred was an alignment of factions, some against, some for the Brooke government as it tended to threaten or enhance their positions. Brooke policies of taxation and fines, restriction of migrations, suppression of raiding and headhunting, evoked bitter resentment and retaliations from [55] those who aligned themselves against the Brooke government. For those who chose alignment with the new authority, the Brooke Raj represented an opportunity for external validation of their positions, and manipulation of their relations with the White Rajahs for personal advance and power. On this point, Pringle writes,

> "The more remote upriver people, loath to abandon their freedom to fight and migrate as they saw fit, often found it more agreeable to comprehend him (the Rajah) as an enemy, the greatest of all enemies, than they did to obey his commands. Even the more accessible downriver Ibans who followed the Rajah on expeditions, of whom Munan was a prominent example, instinctively tended to regard the Government as an antagonist."

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[665] [26] These are the causes of removals of bilik families and the break-up of whole longhouses, and the ease with which Iban politicians transfer party membership if they sense an advantage as an Independent or in another party. The situation quite literally is "every man for himself." (cf. Lande, 1965).

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651 Taxation in the form of exemption and door taxes was a point of severe vexation among the Ibans,[27] for the taxes symbolized the responsibility that the Ibans owed to the Brookes, a responsibility that was acknowledged begrudgingly if at all. Probably originating in the pre-Brooke era when Brunei-sanctioned chiefs collected tribute, the Iban door tax was set at one pasu[28] of padi per year. By 1870, the money equivalent of eighty cents could be paid in lieu of the pasu of padi. [669] By 1880, this was raised to one dollar. The payment of taxes as tribute to the Government or for exemption from military service was onerous to the Ibans, and misunderstanding over taxes was a prime factor in the Asun rebellion of the 1930's.[29]

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648 Restrictions imposed by the Government on Iban migrations and
166 the suppression of headhunting, in the Government's attempts to establish the Pax Brittania over all its wards, was another cause for unrest. Being shifting cultivators, the Ibans had moved at will and according to need into new areas which suited them for their farming. Although the Second

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[27] Ibans in the Sibu District have expressed ambivalent feelings about present-day taxes, chafing under the law that requires them to pay them, but exulting that they can claim free berau (even if they are not in need) because they have paid their taxes just like everyone else.

[804] [28] A dry measure of eight gantang, or 48 pounds of husked rice.

[29] The Brooke Raj was heavily dependent upon the "Dyak Revenue," which was reported as amounting to $26,276.18 and $27,318.36 in the years 1879-1880 (SG No. 174, April, 1881, p.29). cf. Pringle 1970-161n).

175 Rajah dealt with the migrations with sympathy because of his under-
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166 standing of the needs for new land,

> "nevertheless, it would be fair to say that the Rajah and his officers expended far more time and effort in attempting to restrain Iban migrations that they did trying to promote it."

The Iban migrants to the Balleh were twice repulsed by Government, in the 1870's and in 1905, before they were permitted to settle in the area in 1922, and then only under close governmental supervision.

Writing about the Second Rajah's policies and practices, the
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648 Ranee Margaret reveals clearly the spirit of paternalism which guided her husband's programs.

> "The Rajah's object was to persuade these people to confess the error of their ways, own themselves vanquished, make peace, and build a new village under the surveillance of the Rajah's neighbouring forts.[30] The Rajah's policy on many similar occasions was always the same: when he had succeeded in crushing the head-hunting ambitions of these tribes, the thing then to be done was to turn these people into decent subjects by making them understand that the benefits to be derived from trade and commerce were more satisfactory to their well-being (and the Rajah's author's note) than their methods of murdering and cutting off the heads of their often harmless neighbours."

In the context of the traditional non-coercive political organization and premium placed on achievements by the Ibans, the

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[30] His policy also included taking as hostages the wives of all chiefs of a rebel area as a guarantee of their men's good behavior (SG No. 181, 1 November, 1881).

175 establishment of an absolute monarchy by the Brookes, with the sub-
648 sidiary governments of Hose, Bailey, and other Europeans,[31] with the policies of control and containment, could only result in "a general
[721] florescence of Iban energies." Historical sources, and particularly the Sarawak Gazette, are replete with references to disturbances arising from movements, raiding, and the continuing practice of head-hunting. We may speculate that the Brookes might have met with greater success had they had more personnel and funds. But, given the size and topography of Sarawak, and the persistence of the Ibans, edicts against migration without the Rajah's permission and headhunting were impossible to enforce.[32]

The subject of the Ranee Margaret's statement, quoted above,
175 on the Second Rajah's policies was Lintong (see page 91), who refused
648 to pay the Rajah's taxes and was angered by fines imposed on two of
651 his followers. A Lemanak Iban who had migrated to the Julau, Lintong
721 was urged by his brother, Buah Raya, to pay the tax of one dollar a year, because they now were held by the Rajah. Lintong steadfastly refused, saying that he had made no such agreement to pay anything to the Rajah.

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[31] Outstation Residents operated with considerable independence, as they were responsible for raising their own revenue for funding their activities.

[32] Even the efforts of a modern army whose troops are familiar with the jungle and armed with automatic weapons, helicopters, and radios, find it nigh on to impossible to contain the bands of terrorists operating in Sarawak.

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Lintong made preparations to attack (nyerang) and take the heads (ngayau) of the men in the recently built (1862) Fort Brooke in Sibu. He sent out the bungai jarau[33] to his followers who built utap (the one-way canoes) with which they descended the Kanowit and Rajang and attacked Sibu.

Taking up the account as told by the Ranee Margaret, Lintong led a fleet of boats, "manned by some three thousand men," and attacked the fort which was manned by Harry Skelton and thirteen Sikhs.[34] Two or three Iban "chiefs" and the son of Sir Hugh Low, then Colonial Secretary of Labuan, were also in the fort. After firing a barrage of poisoned arrows and barbed bamboo spears and receiving in return fire from the defenders' muskets, the Iban withdrew. During the fighting, the Iban "chiefs" in the fort

> "did nothing but peer through the lattice-work and shout Dyak insults at the attacking party, most of whom they knew very well. They made unpleasant remarks about the enemy's mothers, and inquired whether the men themselves belonged to the female sex, as their efforts were so feeble, etc."

According to a local informant's account,[35] Lintong withdrew up the Kanowit, adamant in his resistance to the Rajah. Slyly letting it

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[33] A section of balsam or other softwood cut (jarau) to resemble a flower (bungai) and sent out by a raja berani or war-leader to assemble his followers to fight.

[34] Indian Sepoys who were exiled for taking part in the Indian uprising of 1857.

[35] Tuai Rumah Ampan

175 be known that he planned another attack,[36] Lintong had his forces build
648 a new legendary longboat, Bung Ungkap, which was equipped with saplings
921 fixed the bow and tied back on either side with creepers that could be cut for the saplings to be released and sweep through the Rajah's forces. The famous war leader (pala'tuai kayau), Geraji Tuai ("The Senior Bradawl"), joined forces with Lintong and they met the Rajah's forces at Wong Adai. The battle was one-sided, for Lintong's forces could not withstand the Rajah's troops who were armed with guns and cannons (bedil periok). A cannon blast caught the Bung Ungkap which sank,[37] and Lintong's followers were routed.[38]

The Ranee Margaret describes Lintong as "an outcast in the land" and in a letter to the Rajah, the Resident of the Rejang Division wrote that,

> "Linton (the Dyak who attacked the Sibu fort in May) has come down and met Apai Laja.[39] Lintong is desirous of building a house opposite the fort, i.e., on the other side of the river."

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[36] Lintong informed Ibans whom he knew to be friendly to the Rajah, knowing that they would inform the Rajah, whom he hoped to trap.

773 [37] After sinking, Bung Ungkap, which had been built according to a dream Lintong had had, changed into a nabau (a mythical python of enormous size) and rose from the depths, according to another informant.

[38] The Ranee notes simply that the Rajah led some seven thousand "Dyaks" up the Rejang where he reduced the enemy to subjection. Ibid.

[39] Orang Kaya of Pulau Keladi, a friend of the Rajah's Government (Beccari 1904-325).

175 Sibu was headquarters from which punitive expeditions were
648 launched against rebels in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. Defeated dissidents were resettled in the Sibu area, to be kept under surveillance by the Resident and troops.[40]

175 While some raja berani were openly hostile to the Brookes,
648 maintaining their belligerence until forced to submit, others saw in
628 the Rajahs an opportunity for confirmation of their positions through alignment with the Government against the hostile factions. Limited as they were in personnel and funds, the Rajahs took every advantage to strengthen ties between themselves and friendly Ibans by making them a part of punitive operations in which headhunting, otherwise illegal, was reluctantly accepted as a part of the punishment inflicted on rebels, hence, legitimized.

175 The alliance and employment of friendly Ibans with the Brookes
648 is seen clearly in the story of Charles Brooke and the famous raja
159 berani, Munan anak Minggat.[41] The son of Miggat, himself a famous government war-leader who engaged in various campaigns against Iban rebels in the Upper Katibas and Batang Lupar Rivers during the 1870's and 1880's, Munan was involved in a grand-scale family feud over the

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[40] "The tribe on the upper Katibas are moving down to the neighbourhood of Sibu, where it is the wish of the government that they should settle permanently." (SG No. 8, 1st December, 1879).

[41] See, Genealogy No. 23, p. 112, in Sandin 1967.

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175 appointment to a successor to his father as pengulu. Being the eldest
648 son, Munan felt that he should take his father's place, and was backed
159 in this by his mother and other powerful relatives. However, the Rajah appointed a man named Ampan, who was backed by the Resident, D.J.S. Bailey, who claimed that Ampan had been chosen in a free election (SG No. 320, 1 September, 1892).[42] Relations between Munan and Bailey grew increasingly hostile until in 1893, Munan was imprisoned in Kuching for allegedly having urged "home rule" to the people of the Krian (SG No. 336, 2 January, 1894). Released at the end of summer of 1893, Munan was ordered to move to Sibu.

After arriving in the Rejang, Munan and his followers built a longhouse at Pulau Keretau opposite Fort Brooke. He was an astute businessman and shrewd politician-cum-war-leader, quickly accumulating wealth and securing his position and virtual command of the lower Rejang and Igan Rivers by obtaining the appointment of his kinsmen as pengulu in Sarikei, Bawang Assan, Aup and Durin. With these political alliances approved by the Rajah, Munan was at the center of such a military network

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[42] This is doubtful, for as Pringle writes (1970-179n), the more common practice at that time was for the Resident to consult with the heads of longhouses and make the selection, subject to approval by the Rajah.

175 magistrate empowered to hear cases in court.
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Muman was among the first Ibans in the Third Division to plant rubber, and his advice was sought by Government when the Mataeng Estate was established near Kuching in 1903 (SG No. 448, 2 May, 1902). He invested in shophouses in the Sibu pasar and after the fire which destroyed the pasar in 1902, he was the first to undertake reconstruction of his shophouses, as mentioned in the Resident's report:

> "It is noteworthy of the enterprise of the Dyaks that the first to begin building on the old sites was the Dyak chief Pengulu Dalam, who although he lost by the fire two new houses is now erecting the first brick house yet build in Sibu."

In addition to the brick shophouses, described later on in the Resident's report as "the finest in Sibu," Muman also held rights to extensive areas of land in what now is the bukit Lima section of the Sibu Urban area.[44] Muman died in Sibu in 1914,

> "wealthy in money, in prestige, and in human head trophies, all of them taken loyally fighting for the Government."[45]

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648 For whatever reasons, through the settlement of groups such as Lintong's and Muman's the Rajah's "enemies" and "friends," the presence

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[44] These lands were kept in the family until Lemok anak Manggah's generation, when they were sold by her brother, Melina, to Chinese.

[45] For Muman's obituary, see SG No. 666, 16 December, 1914.

175 that,
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> "he became the mainstay of any Government-sponsored war expedition operating in the Third Division."

Significantly, he had achieved his position by a "Government-sponsored" migration which permitted him the freedom to operate in the Rajang that previously had been denied him in the Second Division.

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648 In 1898, Munan lead a force of 430 Ibans against the rebel
721 Bantin and his followers in the Upper Batang Lupar, at the request of
159 the Rajah. It is indicative of the alliance and relationship which had developed to the mutual advantage of the Rajah and raja berani that Bailey, the Resident, was not officially informed of the action that was to be carried out in his own backyard. He distrusted rumors about the expedition, only to find that they were indeed true when Munan and his band, brandishing freshly taken heads, appeared before his headquarters on their triumphant return.

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648 Munan was accorded special recognition by the Rajah who, in 1900,
159 conferred on him the special title, Pengulu Dalam, literally the "in Pengulu" or the one on whom the Rajah depended.[43] He sat on Council Negri and received a regular salary from the Government as a native

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[43] In the case of Munan and later, of Pengulu Dalam Ujang, there had been a period of disfavor, after which neither could be appointed pengulu but whose favored positions were indicated in the title originated by Charles Brooke. For a discussion of the meaning and origin of pengulu dalam see Pringle, 1970-186n.

175 of the Ibans in the Sibu District came into being in the late nineteenth
648 and early twentieth centuries.

We turn now to consider the coming of the Chinese who, with the Ibans, are the most populous groups in the District.

000 E. The Chinese

James Brooke had lofty ambitions for the transformation of Sarawak into a "second Java" (Templer 1853 II-42). In order to realize the goals he envisioned, the first Rajah wanted to encourage Chinese and Javanese immigration, from which he hoped to derive the labor and income needed to build his state. However, little was accomplished during his rule for he was too taken up with extension of his territory and almost bankrupted after the Chinese rebellion of 1857.

The second Rajah promoted Chinese immigration for reasons similar to those in other Southeast Asian areas. Europeans in the area felt that the indigenous peoples were not able to meet the labor requirements for economic development, that they were incorrigibly lazy, inherently slow, or just unmotivatable. Charles Brooke was determined to encourage agricultural productivity while, at the same time, protecting the way of life of the indigenes.

From his earliest days as an outstation official, under the first Rajah, Charles Brooke saw the vast and largely untouched Rejang area as

000 an excellent location for settlement of a Chinese colony. In his book, Ten Years in Sarawak, Charles wrote of the Rejang:

> "If there should be a large influx of Chinese agriculturalists, this would be a most desirable locality for them. It is a country which they would develop by opening out a communication by roads to other places. Besides, the great advantage consists in the river being navigable for large vessels, and in the event of Chinamen becoming troublesome and rebellious, an attack could easily be made upon them, and communication cut off from the coast on which the supply of opium and other articles would depend. This would effectually curb their unruliness."

On November 29, 1880, the Rajah issued an order that was later to alter the face of Sarawak, an order dealing with the development of the Rejang Valley by the Chinese. Brooke offered to negotiate with any Chinese company that would bring into the Rejang, Chinese men, women and children numbering not less than 300 people. These settlers would be employed as agriculturalists, and the Government offered free land sufficient for their purposes. Government also pledged to erect temporary housing, and to provide free rice and salt for twelve months. Steam communication with Kuching was guaranteed, and reasonable rates were pledged. Further, the Rajah agreed to establish a police station to protect and look after the colonists. Chinese on their part had to promise to settle permanently in Sarawak (SG No. 169, 29 November, 1880).

In July, 1900, twenty years after publication of his Rejang Land Order, Charles Brooke met with Wong Nai Siong, a Foochow scholar and

060 Methodist, and signed on agreement of far-reaching importance to the Rejang area in general, the Sibu area in particular. Under terms of the agreement, Wong was to introduce 1000 adult Chinese into the Rejang area in the years 1901 and 1902. The settlers would grow and market such produce as they pleased, but rice had to be the first objective.

At the time of the coming of the Foochow settlers, Chinese already had been in the Rejang for several decades. The census of 1871 lists only forty-five Chinese for the Rejang Residency (later the Third Division), but this seems unreasonably low. By 1871, the Sibu bazaar comprised sixty shophouses, mostly Chinese, and a Chinese merchant was in the process of building ten new ones. There was a Chinese joss house which would indicate a fairly sizeable Chinese population. The report from which the above information is taken (SG No. 10, 24 January, 1871), noted that forty Cantonese were engaged in preparing belian (ironwood) for shipment to Hong Kong. It continues,

> "Already the active Chinamen are penetrating into the interior in search of gutta, and it only requires assurance that life and property will be safe to induce numbers to settle at Sibu and perhaps at Kanowit also, as regular trading centers."

But the earlier Chinese came for trade, exchanging cloth, jars, salt and other necessities of various kinds, for jungle produce, and little land development or agriculture took place. Hence, the Rajah's desire to introduce permanent Chinese settlers.

000 Charles Brooke originally wanted to settle the Foochow settlers at Kanowit, which was not only the leading bazaar of the Rejang, but also was situated in a hilly area, whereas Sibu is located on very low [177] lying and swampy land. Even after the founding of Fort Brooke, Kanowit continued to be the more important town for it was the government's administrative center for the Rejang, commanding as it did control of the Kanowit River with its troublesome Iban population. Again, the topographical features already noted made Kanowit the more favorable site. One early visitor to the Rejang wrote that,

> "Sibu can hardly be called a pleasant place, although there is a certain grandeur in the immense extent of water, the endless forest, and especially the wide expanse of horizon, which in Borneo is usually so limited by the exuberance of the vegetation."

Despite objections and other factors, Wong felt that Kanowit was too far from the sea, and that Sibu was a more central place. The first settlers, 603 in all, arrived in Sibu in 1901, and they were followed by another group of 550 who arrived on June 7, 1902. They were given land at Sungai Merah (now a part of the Sibu Urban area) and provided with <u>atap</u> houses. Because of insufficient land at Sungai Merah, some of the colonists were permitted to move to other areas near Sibu, including Ensurai, Satit and Sungai Nawang.

In 1901, 500 Cantonese men arrived to plant pepper at Kwant Tung below Sadit. Frictions developed between them and the Foochows, and the

000 Rajah ordered the Cantonese to settle the areas between Sibu and Kanowit, and the Foochows to remain in Sibu and below.

Within a year or two after their arrival, Wong Nai Siong and other Foochows,

> "built three shophouses opposite the present site of the Hock Chu Huo company building (appropriately named Old Street). Two other shops were built, making 5 shophouses in all (that were owned by Foochows, that is). Mr. Wong's shop was called New Foochow Colony Co., but this was later changed to Hock Chu Huo. Goods sold were rice, salt, and salted fish, coarse cloth, potatoes, and vegetables."

On of the express purposes for the Rajah's introduction of the Foochow settlers into the Ranjang was the cultivation of rice. The Rajah and his officials had long faced the problem of obtaining a cheap, local and dependable supply of rice. In 1872, the following appeared:

> "The difficulty of procuring a sufficient supply of rice has been increasing every month, until the majority of people in this Residency and a considerable number of those living elsewhere are almost entirely dependent on what is imported in the steamers from Singapore or in native traders. Prizes of some value have been offered for three years in the hope of urging the natives in Sarawak, where the deficiency is most felt, to undertake rice cultivation to a greater extent."

Wong Nai Siong had expected the settlers to grow enough rice and vegetables to be self-supporting in nine months, but he did not reckon on the conditions under which they would be working, or the background of many of the Foochows. Lin Wen Tsung, who arrived in

000 Sarawak with the second group of settlers in 1901, has described the hardships faced by the Foochows. The jungle had to be cleared, a considerable task to people unacquainted with the jungle and unskilled [177] in clearing it for farms. According to Lin, the neighbouring Ibans were uncooperative and viewed the Foochows as encroachers on their lands. The agricultural techniques used in China did not work well in the deep lowlands of Sibu. Many of the settlers were not farmers, Wong Nai Siong himself knowing little about agriculture. It is little wonder that of the first 1,000 colonists brought in, between 100 and 200 either died or left by 1905 for Kuching, Singapore, Penang or Sitiawan. Lin writes:

> "Life was very hard in the early days. The people used Chinese methods of padi planting and used ploughs in the padi fields. On the high land sugar cane, potatoes, etc., were grown. The padi did not grow well and the price of potatoes dropped from 5 dollars per pikul to 30 cents per pikul. All the bachelors then left, only those with families continued to struggle on. As the land was new there were many insects, wild pigs, snakes and birds to ravage the crops. . . Many people died of fever."

The settlers did not help solve the problem of the rice shortage, and while occasionally good harvests were reported (e.g., SG No. 447, 2 June, 1902), severe shortages continued to plague the area until the 1920's. After his assumption of the position of kangchew (headman) of the Foochows, James Hoover, an American Methodist missionary, wrote an article on "Cultivation of Rice in the Rejang." This article, which

000 was published in the Sarawak Gazette (No. 766, 2 June, 1919), refuted charges that the Foochows had not seriously attempted to plant rice, and offered suggestions as to how rice might be grown successfully (suggestions which have never been widely implemented except in agricultural stations).

In addition to the problems they faced in farming, the settlers were saddled with debt and leaderless when Wong Nai Siong returned to China in 1904. Wong had been given loans by the Rajah amounting to $40,000 to cover the immigrants' passage and initial needs in Sarawak. In return, Wong was to repay the loans by various installments over a period of five years. Wong, in turn, was to be paid in excess produce of the farmers. Unable to collect produce because of the initial rough times, Wong hit the colonists with a taxation system and they in turn protested to the Rajah. According to Lin Wen Tsung, the Rajah gave Wong two alternatives: either account for the loans and leave the country, or remain and repay the loan as he could. Wong chose the former alternative.

One of the initial accomplishments after becoming kangchew was Hoover's convincing the Rajah to waive repayment of his loans to the colonists. With this worry gone, more Foochows began coming to join their friends and relatives at Sibu. Their coming strengthen Charles Brooke's hopes that,

000 "this first batch of settlers in these parts are forerunners of many thousand of Chinese who will follow before many years have passed. . .Almost certainly there is probably room for 5 to 10 millions in the island and from 3 to 5 millions in this part of it."

The original purpose for which the Foochows were brought into the Rejang, viz, cultivation of rice, was not realized, and the settlers quickly developed a very disillusionment for it. Meanwhile, a Cantonese colony had been settled upriver from Sibu and quickly achieved success in growing pepper. The annual report from the Rejang contrasts the two settlements:

> "The padi planting scheme for which they were originally intended is a failure as the Foo Chow's plant barely enough for their own consumptions finding it more profitable to plant vegetables.
>
> The Cantonese at Lanang are in a more thriving condition. They go in almost entirely for the cultivation of pepper- the pepper plants which are still quite young look healthy."

Quick to perceive where the greater rewards lay, and motivated by the daily desire to eat, the Foochows turned first to pepper and, by the end of the decade, to rubber, and

> "by 1910 the Foochow colony was on a solid financial footing, primarily because they had taken up rubber in 1908. . . Brooke was not entirely satisfied with this result, however, he felt that rice padi was slighted in favor of the more remunerative rubber."

In addition to the Foochow and Cantonese settlers, Charles Brooke sanctioned in 1911 the introduction of a colony of Methodist Hanghuas.

000 The first group arrived in May, 1912, and were settled below Sibu on
[464] the right bank of the Igan near Sungai Merah. They used part of the money they had brought with them to employ Ibans from the Aup area for felling the jungles. The Henghuas were more successful in rice cultivation than the Foochows had been, raising enough for their own consumption but rarely having any surpluses.[46] In addition, they planted rubber and grew vegetables, which they were able to sell because of the great demand in the Sibu pasar (SG No. 627, 1 May, 1913).

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177 The settling of several thousand Chinese among the Ibans and Malays of the Rejang raised several problems. One of the major ones which soon arose, and to this day is unsolved and a source of tremendous anxiety to Government officials, was that of land relations. There was a tendency for the colonists, especially the Foochows, to leave the areas allotted for settlement and take up land on the outside as squatters. This tendency in part was due to the inadequacy of the areas allotted to them, in part due to their desire to develop lands that appeared to them unclaimed, in part a lack of understanding of indigenous attitudes towards land, and in part, due to the absence of any clear and comprehensive land law.

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[46] The Resident's report says that the Henghuas raised enough rice to supply Sibu (SG No. 674, 16 April, 1915), but the settler, Ling Kai Cheng states emphatically that this was not the case (interview 23 September, 1971).

423 Traditionally, the Ibans and other indigenes maintained that land was held with usufruct rights in perpetuity by the descendants of the pioneer who cleared the land, or persons to whom they gave [671] usufruct rights. Under Iban adat, such land could not be alienated by Government nor acquired by squatters, such as the Chinese. Whether or not the land was used, they still maintained usufruct rights to it.

175 177 The Third Division reports of the first three decades of this century contain numerous accounts of land disputes, caused by Chinese encroachment on what appeared to them to be empty land.[47] In some cases, the Chinese rented land from the Ibans, for example, in the Assan opposite Pengulu Abas' house (SG No. 817, 1 October, 1921). In other instances, the saw "empty" land and took it over (SG No. 862, 1 July, 1925), resulting in complaints that,

> "Foochow Chinese are encroaching on their land at Sungei Merah; the matter will be looked into."

In still other situations, the Ibans,

> "agreed to give Chinese 300 acres at Rantau Panjang for farming purposes."

In some cases, however, hostilities broke out between the Ibans who resented the invasions of the Chinese, and the newcomers.

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[47] See, for example, SG No. 441, 1902-201; No. 419, 1903-124; No. 813, 1921-111; No. 862, 1925-169; No. 880, 1927-15; No. 918, 1930-75; No. 840, 1932; No. 1002, 1937-74; No. 1331, 1969-13-15.

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"These constant disputes led to eight Foochows being attacked by Binatang Dayaks. Three of the Chinese were wounded and all their property were (sic) looted."

More will be said on the subject of land when we deal with communal relations, suffice it here to note that in August, 1909, the Rajah issued a special land order for the Rejang, in which Ibans, Malays, and Chinese were allowed to take out grants for their holdings, thereby greatly enhancing the value of their property (at least in the view of Government, which benefitted by revenue from fees paid). Special areas were set aside as Chinese areas and, while many did register their lands, others joined the ranks of the squatters. Some Ibans steadfastly refused to take out such grants,[48] and in some cases, such as those of the Bawang Assan Ibans who had planted their rubber at Bukit Lan, they consequently were forced by Government to remove from the land.

A willingness by indigenes to sell their land to Chinese for the benefits of ready cash caused tremendous concern to Government officers. A number of regulations attempted to remedy the situation but with mixed success (SGG 2 January, 1915). Even today, when Chinese are still technically restricted from holding or acquiring land in the Native Zone,

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[48] They also refused to pay an annual assessment which the Government announced in 1911 (SGG 1 June, 1909).

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195 but numerous ways are found to circumvent this restriction.[49]
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Near the end of his reign, Charles Brooke became very concerned with the Iban's proclivity to sell their land to any and all takers, and in a moving speech before Council Negri on 17 August, 1915, the aging Rajah delivered a warning to the Malays and indigenes to treasure their land, to avoid at all costs allowing foreign speculators and exploiters gaining control of the land. But, his fear at the time was not so much of Chinese encroachment as the possible appearance of a European planter class in Sarawak (SGG 1 September, 1915), whom he feared for the threat they posed to his position as absolute monarch.

000 The demand of the Chinese in Sarawak for land still is a volatile political issue of the first magnitude.[50] The Chinese, who form about one-third of the total population, can buy only land classified as Mixed Zone Land (4,000 square miles), under existing laws. As more than three-quarters of Mixed Zone Land is either held under customary tenure and is therefore Native Customary Land or is unsuitable

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[49] The Report of The Land Commission, 1962 recommends "that all that is needed for the protection of the native interests is a simple law to the effect that 'no native shall sell, lease, charge or in anyway dispose of or deal with his land or any right or interest in it' except with the consent of the Resident" (1963-16). According to one source, this consent has been obtained on occasion by appraising the Resident of debts incurred by an Iban to a Chinese, the transfer of land being made in lieu of payment of debt.

[50] To date, Government has not touched the outdated system of Land Laws.

000 for agriculture, suitable land actually available to the Chinese is less than a quarter of what is shown as Mixed Zone Land.

The pressure for land is greatest near the main centers of Chinese agricultural activity. Although Government has tried to anticipate Chinese demand for land for permanent cultivation and development, it has not been able to meet the demands. The construction of Oya Road was envisioned as opening up new land to the Chinese and serving as a safety valve by releasing pressures exerted by young or unemployed people in Sibu, through making available to them rural land for development. And, while it did help, it did not meet the demand of farmers, investors and smallholders requiring more land for planting new rubber while continuing to tap their old trees.

Nearly half of the Chinese in Sarawak today are engaged in agriculture, a situation that is unique in Southeast Asia and other areas of Overseas Chinese settlement. This high percentage of agricultural occupations among the Sarawak Chinese is due in part to the strong rural orientation and high degree of land-consciousness among the Hakkas and Foochows. Further, the economic prospects in Sarawak are more limited than in other areas of Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, the Philippines, or even West Malaysia, where more Chinese have entered into mercantile occupations. From the earliest arrivals, the Government encouraged the Chinese to take up agricultural activities, for, with the exception of

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mining, agricultural products have been the main exportable items from Sarawak.

The Chinese who found their way to Sibu were nearly all either peasants or small business men and craftsmen from the country side, and many looked upon their coming to Sarawak merely as a temporary arrangement. Even today, many Chinese above age forty maintain a personal "back-to-China" policy. The urban concentrations of poor people in China were too small to provide a labor force for recruiters, so most came from the country side of Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces, leaving China as refugees from official displeasure, exiles from local communities, captives in "clan" wars sold to dealers, free emigrants seeking their fortunes, and as contract coolies. Thus, Sarawak, like other areas of Sarawak built up a very heterogeneous population of Chinese, speaking a widespread assortment of dialects. Provincial and dialect differences have provided the basis for the relationships involved in economic, political, and social activities.

There are eleven principal groups of Chinese in Sarawak,[51] speaking mutually unintelligible dialects. By far, the most important groups in the Sibu District are the Cantonese, Foochow, Henghua and Hokkien,

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[51] These are Hakka, Foochow, Hokkien, Teochiu, Cantonese, Hainanese, Henghua, Chao Ann, Luichow, Southern Mandarin, and Shanghainese (T'ien 1956-11-14).

000 each group of which is divided into varying economic activities and voluntary associations, some according to occupation groups, others according to surnames, and still others for benevolent purposes, with some associations combining all of these functions.

Within two years of their arrival in Sibu, the Foochows, lead by Wong Nai Siong, had built five shophouses on what is now Channel Road. Dialect differences appeared almost at once, according to Lin Wen Tsung. As soon as the Foochows opened shops, their fellows patronized them, leaving the Hokkiens to deal with other Hokkiens and other indigenes. Displaying frugality and a keen business sense, the Foochows rapidly became the economically dominant group in Sibu, so much so that Sibu is sometimes called "New Foochow." Foochows are found in every type of trade and business in Sibu, and are keenly competitive with the members of other dialects, as well as between different Foochow clans.[52]

The Cantonese are found almost entirely in the Sibu Rural District, and are major producers of vegetables and, until recently, most of the

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[52] The use of this term follows Murdock (1949-66), and the Chinese clans are localized, compromise kin groups, functioning primarily in the economic sphere. It is significant that in a number of instances, for example, of the Laus who formerly resided near Bukit Lan, and Tings, of the Lower Rejang, localization and economic functions continue even after their moving into the town of Sibu.

000 pepper produced in the District.[53] The Hokkiens are a minority group in Sibu, but are important in the grocery trade. The Henghuas are found primarily in rural areas, where they produce rubber and vegetables. Those Henghuas engaged in trade in Sibu have been mainly active in mechanical and repair shops, specializing in the maintenance of bicycles, motorcycles, and cars.[54]

175 177 During the years of the expansion of rubber production, economic ties were strengthened between Sibu and the hinterland, by the building of small shophouses in locations accessible to rural residents. Because of the possible outbreak of violence, the shops were located on the main rivers near the mouths of tributaries. These shops exchanged jungle produce and rubber for food, the acid needed for processing rubber or jelutong, and, over the years, an increasingly large inventory of necessary and luxury items.[55] In this way, small villages grew up along

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[53] The Cantonese are particularly numerous in Sarikei and Miri, where they have taken up pepper production, labor and artisan activities.

[54] As might be expected, there are exceptions to generalizations about occupations of dialect groups. For example, members of the Tnay family, Henghuas from Sungai Teku, share in a travel agency in Sibu and Kuching, and recently obtained a place for another member, a young woman, with Malaysia-Singapore Airways in Singapore.

[55] The Durin pasar numbers about one dozen shops, including coffee shops and grocery stores, selling everything from salt and matches to V.S.O.P. Brandy.

175 the Rajang and Igan Rivers at Durin, Salim, Assan, Penasu, Ensurai and
177 Bukit Lan. Gradually, as Government was able to give more protection and a greater degree of security in rural areas, Chinese shopkeepers penetrated the tributaries, in some cases going as far up as the last longhouse, farming and growing rubber, fruit and vegetables as well as acting as middlemen in the rural trade.[36]

000 The Foochow domination of trade and commerce in the Sibu District is due in part to their overwhelming members. As indicated in Table 9 on the following page, by 1947, their total number in both rural and urban areas was almost three times that of all other Chinese. In the rural area, the Foochows were six times as numerous as the next largest group, the Cantonese. And in the urban area, they were more than twice as many as the Hokkien, second to them in numbers.

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[36] The recent increase in terrorism and the general insecurity that has accompanied it has prompted the movement of rural residents, especially Chinese, into Sibu. Between the time when the First and Second Stages of the 1970 Census were taken in the Sibu Rural District, almost 1,800 Chinese moved from the rural areas into Sibu. The First Stage showed a total of 32,478 Chinese in the Sibu Rural District. The Second Stage, taken four months later, showed only 30,683. A majority of these people moved into Sibu, according to Urban District Council and Education Department officials, who have been concerned with their placement in work and their children in schools. At the same time, and unrelated to this, the rise of a new image and ethnic consciousness among Ibans has resulted in the supplanting of Chinese by Iban shopkeepers in several areas; e.g., Ulu Durin Kiba.
[184]

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TABLE 9

Chinese Population[57]

Sibu District

1947	Foochows	Cantonese	Hakkhs	Henghua	Hokkien	Hailam	Teochow
Sibu Rural	19,903	3,131	212	1,878	379	24	33
Sibu Urban	3,062	686	369	147	1,457	162	147
Totals	22,965	3,817	581	2,025	1,836	186	180

[57] Regrettably, the 1960 and 1970 censuses do not give a break-down of Chinese according to dialect groups. Above from a report on the 1947 population Census of Sarawak and Brunei, p. 87, Kuching, Government Printer.

OOO But the Foochow domination is due to certain cultural and structural factors. Coming from the poor and overpopulated maritime provinces of Southeastern China, most of the first Foochow settlers were Methodists who had incurred the displeasure of their nationalistically minded compatriots, and were glad to leave China, at least temporarily, to escape the heavy hand of the Boxers and others. The Foochows brought with them a protestant ethic of hardwork, strict management, and frugality. They survived in the early years on a diet of what has been described as "grease, greens, grass - and guts."

Having come from an area and a situation in which they were not accepted, the Foochows reflected their history by a combination of secretiveness, cloistering and aggression. These attitudes were structuralized into the association systems which today number more than sixty in Sibu. As the statement of one informant indicates, the associations were founded on the principle, "We take care of our own." Although associations have been founded on a variety of bases - clan, dialect, benevolent, historical- the overriding concern of a majority of the associations is,

> "with the economic interests of the occupation which is followed by the majority of all its members."

Through the systems of associations, the Chinese have contrived to create a closed economic situation, in which aid and support are

000 rendered to members of the same association and persons or groups who may be permitted entry into a particular form of business or type of employment. By manipulation of the same system of relationships, it is possible to deny access to productive means and goods to non-members or persons who pose a threat to members of the association.

The networks of relationships exist both hierarchically and horizontally. Hierarchically, trade in Sarawak is characterized at every level by partron client or creditor - debtor relationships. For example, a rural shopkeeper extends credit to fellow Chinese and Ibans, advancing foodstuffs and other goods in exchange for rubber and other products. In almost every instance, the customers stand in a situation of perpetual debt: daily taking cooking oil, salt, sardines or some other commodity, while paying towards the debt when able (or when they want to).[38] The rural shopkeepers, in turn, receive credit from larger merchants in Sibu, to whom they also are in debt. And the larger merchants stand in a client relationship to suppliers from either Singapore

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[38] The overextension of debts of break-down of relations between any pair in the patron-client situation can be financially ruinous. More than one shopkeeper has gone out of business because he could not collect his debts. As one who has been fairly successful said, "You have to impress upon the customer how much he needs you, for if you go out of business, there may be no other shop from which he can buy." Though the ground rules are generally understood by players, still traders at every level can be ruined unless the contracts are honored. One well-known timber tycoon of the Third Division found it expedient to move his home and office from a Rajang town to Kuching when debts owing to him exceeded M$40,000. "I knew I could never collect them," he said, "and the best way to maintain good relations and not lose any more money was to move to Kuching."

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or Kuching. This ladder of credit and indebtedness characterizes the Sarawak system of trade, and as T'ien states, is well understood by the participants (1956-65).

The hierarchial structuring of relationships between patron and clients has resulted in fierce competition and speculation at each level between those vying in the samea trades. The timber boom and the increase in capital that is available, and the formation of some guilds, in certain cases, or a comity agreement in others, has taken some of the edge off what previously was cutthroat competition. Partially, the problem derives from the replication of more and more of the same businesses than the public can support, and consequently, there have been a large number of bankruptcies in the history of Sibu. Between the year 1946-1949, almost one-third of the grocery shops in Sibu were closed down or their owners declared themselves bankrupt. (T'ien 1956-64). Before the era of high-powered, twin-engine express launches, and the increased mobility of a more affluent population, competition for passengers very keen. At one time in the early 1960's, rival launch companies drove the prices down from five dollars to one and finally, gave free passage with a meal thrown in.[59]

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[59] On one occasion the writer was on a launch racing with another for passengers, back and forth across the river. The juragan (driver) of the other launch waited for an opening and when he saw it, rammed our launch in an effort to overturn it, which he very nearly did.

The competition between different factions and associations carries over into local political structures as well. District councils are composed of elected members who are also members of associations with interests to guard. Thus, it is possible for an urban district council, such as Kuching's or Sibu's, to block the entrance of an outsider from another dialect group or a non-Chinese who may threaten local interests, though it is doubtful that this power is implemented by councils' eager to admit able and prosperous businessmen[60] to their areas.

Recently, associations of persons of the same occupation have come into existence. The Wharf Laborer's Association and Taxi Drivers' association are two such groups, in which members have organized for their mutual protection. The launch companies also have organized into an association recently have reaching compromises on some of the runs by alternating the times when launches are dispatched. Generally, however, laborers are not organized among themselves, the basic relations being of a vertical orientation between employer and employee. As laborers do organize unions in the trades and industries, a basic shift in the locus of power maybe expected.

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[60] According to one member of the Kuching Municipal Council, there is a fear among that City's businessmen of a "Foochow invasion." Nevertheless, Sibu Foochow businessmen are prospering in Kuching, especially near the Pending end of Padungang Road.

TABLE 10

Voluntary Associations in Sibu

Dialect Associations	Clan Associations	Commercial Associations	Trade Union
Kong Wei Sien	Wong	Chinese Commercial	Wharf Laborers
Chiang Chuan	Shi	Coffee Shops	Nurses
Keng Chew	Hsia	Newspaper	Laborers
Teochew	Chiang	Clothing Material	Teachers
Hakka		Tailors	Chinese Medical Doctors
Hin Hua		Hawkers	
Foo Chow		House Renting	
Tiong Luk		Construction	Religious Associations
Malay Union		Taxi-Owners	Roman Catholic Church
Iban (Dayak Youth)		Mechanical and Steel Industrial	Methodist Church
		Barbers	Anglican Church
Recreational Associations		Butchers	The Little Flock
Lucky Club		Launch Operators	Seventh Day Adventists
Loyalty Club			Ton Luk
Friendship Club		Social Welfare	Hock En Tong
Nam Hua Club		Sibu Boys Club	Ming Sing Tong
Stamp Collectors		Blind Association	
Photographers		Old Man's Home	
Chinese Poem Chanting		Children's Home	
Basketball		Kong Huang	
Table Tennis			
Volley Ball			
Badminton			
Swimming			
Sibu Recreation Club			
Music Club			
Hockey Club			
Football Club			
Lions			
Rotary			

000 The struggle for power and resistance to any outside threat is related to the secretiveness which marks so much of Sibu trade and commerce. If knowledge is power, as someone has written, the Sibu businessman is resolved to surrender none of his.[61] As one helpful, non-Sibu Government Chinese Clerk said to me, "The only way you can get information from these chaps is if you yourself have some leverage to exert." So closely do the traders draw a curtain of secrecy about their business that this sphere is virtually impenetrable to the non-Chinese, except on the fringes, unless it is rewarding to the traders concerned to admit the outsider.

For example, one of the most tightly guarded secrets in all of Sarawak is the cost of production of timber. Knowledge of production of costs is possessed by a relatively small number of Chinese loggers.[62] Especially in remote areas where hill timber is cut, there are literally hundreds of details and decisions to be considered: the selection of the stand to be cut, placing and construction of camps, building and maintenance of roads, hiring and care for crews, purchase and transport of

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[61] In collecting data about voluntary associations, Foochow assistants were themselves surprised at how tight-lipped businessmen, including some acquaintances of their own, were about giving any information.

[62] The number of financial casualties in the timber business has been higher than those who have succeeded.

000 equipment, removal of logs to a main river, and the rafting of logs to a sawmill or export center. This knowledge is absolutely essential to anyone entering into timber operations, and has been acquired from long experience. Without such knowledge, a man cannot predict whether a stand of timber can be cut profitably, and few would want to risk the millions required to undertake the operations.[63]

177 441 At a lower level of finance, the Chinese have managed to maintain a somewhat looser control both in the rural and urban areas, because of their longer experience of financing and bookkeeping. An important fact of inter-ethnic cooperation is that behind every successful, and I stress successful, Iban shopkeeper, there stands a Chinese advisor. Many an Iban has tried and failed, both independently and through Government sponsored and advised cooperatives. For without the most knowledgeable direction of the Chinese advisor, the non-Chinese faces a discouraging maze of business to be negotiated.

000 In summary, the epithet "New Foochow" is not wholly inappropriate for Sibu, for the Foochow settlers and descendants have built this entrepot upon the trade and commerce that they have carried on. Like the Ibans

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[63] The Government is considering opening forests above the Pelagus Rapids, a particularly long, rough stretch of the Rejang River above Kapit, but is wholly dependent for knowledge of whether this can be done at a profit upon the local loggers.

000 they are relative new-comers to the District, the most aggressive and achievement-oriented of their people, a factor that is important for understanding the interplay between the two groups.

177 F. Inter-Ethnic Relations

The relations between the major ethnic groups in Sarawak have been marked by strong ties and a relatively high frequency of contacts, in both rural and urban settings. Malays, Ibans, Chinese and Europeans have live in close proximity, and the social networks of members of each community have included ties with members of others. Unlike the situations existing in some other parts of Southeast Asia, for example, Indonesia, where physical proximity has resulted in an intensification of ethnocentrism with a rigidity of ethnic boundaries and attitudes, the relations among the peoples of Sarawak have tended to be more open-ended with respect to one another.

439 1. Economic Relations

For as long as memory serves and records are available, Ibans and Malays have maintained trading relations with one another. The former provided rice in exchange for salt and fish in a barter economy (*pasilih empa'*, "swapping eats"). Exchange relations tended to become fixed between individuals and families, so that contractual dyadic relations or partnerships, termed *udong* (or, "brother"), developed. These partnerships

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439 have remained important throughout the urbanizing of the Sibu pasar, where Ibans have found hospitality for overnight stays or lodging for their children attending schools, in exchange for rice and fruit.

Not all economic relations between Ibans and Malays have been of such a balanced reciprocal nature, and examples of some Malay traders swindling Ibans have not been uncommon. During the Brooke administration, two forms of such cheating were common, viz, the sale of certain types of ceramics, especially "old" Chinese jars, to Ibans for exorbitant [554] prices, and the sale of magic charms. One of the most important wealth indicators among the Iban has been the tajau (jar), for it is a mark of achievement to afford one. Well aware of this value, Malay traders bought jars for a couple of dollars and sold them to unwary Ibans for a couple of hundred.

789 439 The Ibans are highly oriented to all forms of magical practices, and commonly hold that Malays are the purveyors of magic charms par excellence. From the time of the Brookes until the present, many Ibans have been duped by Malays into purchasing scraps of paper on which are written mysterious bits of scribble, allegedly from the Koran, hence, powerful for the treatment of illnesses. During the middle of the past decade, scores of Ibans are reported to have been taken in by a Malay who sold ubat kebal (invulnerability medicine) in the Binatang area.[64]

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[64] With great showmanship, the trader would rub his ubat kebal on his forearms which he then slashed with a knife. The blows were repulsed, or at least the spectators thought so. Those who tried to emulate his performance, however, ended up with painful cuts, as well as worthless medicine.

177 During the administration of the Third Rajah, the Sarawak Native Officer corps was comprised exclusively of Malays. Neither indigenes nor Chinese were recruited for service until shortly before the Second World War. The Malays sometimes exploited their positions to maximum benefit, and many older Ibans still chafe under memories of Malay officers who visited longhouses with demands for rice, chickens and eggs. On this point, one old man said,

> "We didn't want to give to them but what could we do? They were the Tuan Rajah's representatives" (Ka' enda' meri' ke sida', nadai ko' enggau? Sida' ia tak seruan tuan rajah).

Generally speaking, however, the relations between Ibans and Malays have been based upon balanced reciprocity, with amicable feelings largely obtaining.

439 Chinese and Iban economic relations characteristically have been of a patron-client nature. In early trading contacts, the Chinese were dependent upon Ibans and other indigenes for the supply of jungle produce on which their livelihood was based. With the establishment of trading centers such as the Sibu pasar, exchange tended to become fixed between the Iban client and his Chinese patron (towkay), rather than an Iban dealing with a number of different businessmen. The patron-client [452] relationship has proved to be of mutual advantage to both parties. In time of need (nuya suntok), the Iban can obtain credit or even a cash advance from his towkay. When he has marketable goods, he is assured of

439 [484] an outlet through the trader. When he comes to the pasar on business, because of an illness, or just to see the town (ngalu diri') he can usually find lodging over or behind his towkay's shophouse. From the towkay's perspective, he has an assurance of produce, as well as first choice on anything the client brings to market. Whereas the client usually has but one towkay, the patron has a number of clients, all of whom are bound to him by credit relations. These relations are built upon trust and friendship which is honored in a majority of cases.[65]

A large number of Chinese traders have operated shops near longhouse communities, where they provided salt, soap, matches and other essential goods in exchange for rubber, pepper and other produce. Until the last decade or so, almost all such longhouse shops were run by Chinese. At present, the number of Chinese longhouse shopkeepers has dwindled in the face of Iban competition, an inability to collect on debts, and the deteriorated security situation. Some Chinese also operated floating shops, based on motor-driven launches which plied between Sibu and the longhouses. The number of these launch-based shops has diminished also in light of the developments mentioned above, and as facilities for transportation have improved.

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[65] In talking about these relationships, a retired but long-time successful businessman of Sibu said that if a client reneged on his debts and transferred to another towkay, he only jeopardized his chances in the future, for his reputation would soon be known, and no one would deal with him.

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177 425 Another incident of economic cooperation between Chinese and Ibans occurs when the latter purchase land in the Native Area on behalf of their kowkay or friend. For example, in one case with which I am acquainted, an Iban has bought five lots of land in his own name but with money provided by a Chinese friend. It is quite illegal for the Chinese to hold land in the Native Area, but through this subterfuge based upon trust between the two men, it has been carried out.

177 At the time of gawai and other events of moment, Chinese friends often are invited as guests, and they in turn reciprocate when they hold feasts. For instance, at the time of Gawai Dayak ("Dayak Festival Day," June 1), Chinese may be seen visiting longhouses and bringing with them gifts of cream crackers, drinks and other foodstuffs. When a Chinese family gives a feast on the occasion of a birthday or wedding, Ibans may be invited, depending upon the relations between the persons involved.

The other ethnic group which has important economic relations with the Iban, and about whom we have written but obliquely, is the [829] orang putih (Caucasians, principally British and Americans). From the time of James Brooke until the present, a vast majority of Ibans have looked upon the orang putih as representatives of the most technologically developed societies in the world, holders of vast riches. And the attitudes and actions of many orang putih have done little to

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177 change the Iban view. According to Harriet MacDougall's diary, the First Rajah wrote to her husband, then Bishop of Kuching, to "give the Dyaks anything they want." Despite the strictures to which his administration was subject, the Second Rajah maintained a patronizing attitude towards his citizens.

It generally is true that orang putih who live and work in Sarawak, whether employees of Government, company or church, are relatively much wealthier than a majority of Ibans. There are some exceptions among wealthy Ibans, but even the peripatetic hippie who wanders through Sarawak, the Peace Corpsman, missionary or anthropologist[66] who is "going to live as the people," has sources of support and a security that few Ibans can enjoy.

Thus, the orang putih in most situations has been in a superordinate position. He has been employee or patron, advisor, or consultant, but always independent, from the Iban's point of view. The orang putih has been responsible for considerable amounts of money being introduced into the country through the various agencies to which he has been attached, and it is not surprising that many Ibans still tend to

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[66] In one instance, the Ibans recall with wistful fondness the stay of an anthropologist with them "for we ate better during those days, off his provisions, than we ever have eaten." As the people live?

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

177 confuse in their pronunciation the words tuan ("master, lord") and Tuhan ("God").[67]

2. Settlement Patterns

000 The Sibu District is marked by an absence of ethnic wards. While the Malay population tends to be clustered along what formerly was Sungai Sibu and presently is Kampong Nyabor Road and extends down the bank of the Igan to Kampong Hilir, there are no regulations compelling them to live in that area and they are as free as their funds permit and hearts desire to move elsewhere. In fact, a number of Malay families live outside the kampong, some who are employed by Government or companies in furnished quarters. Within the kampong are to be found non-Malays: Ibans, Chinese, and even an occasional orang putih.

[177] [369]

The Chinese population has been located predominantly within one or two miles of the banks of the main rivers, the Rejang, Igan and Leba'an. Notable exceptions are those shopkeepers who moved into areas near longhouse communities, with whom they traded. The opening of the Oya Road and its branches has permitted a number of Chinese to move to land adjacent the roadways, some being purchased individually and other occupied under Government Scheme, as at Sibintek.

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[829] [178] [67] On one occasion while travelling with the late Pengulu Giman, he introduced the writer as petara ("god"), going on to explain that how else could you refer to people who had done so much technologically and were so wealthy (sic). Members of the younger generation are not so free in acts of deification.

000 The main part of the urban Chinese population is located in the pasar proper, living over the shophouses where they conduct their businesses, or occupying apartments built along the main roads and their tributaries. Within these predominantly Chinese areas, it is common for Ibans to rent rooms and live side-by-side with Chinese neighbors or, as we have noted, for Iban transients to put with their Chinese patrons.

369 The rise in incidence of terrorist activities in the past two years has prompted some Ibans and Chinese alike to abandon their homes in rural areas and move into Sibu. The number of Chinese moving between rural and urban areas varies according to the security conditions.[68] Ibans show a greater reticence to return once they have left their homes, as the members of the longhouse of Sungai Jih, Kanowit District, who have left their homes and crops to take residence in the Sungai Antu Industrial Estate.

000 The European and American communities have lived in quarters furnished by their employers: Government, church, company and Peace Corps. There has been no cloistering of orang putih in a single area, though some companies have built more secluded compounds than other organizations. There is, however, no settlement pattern approximating

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[68] In a two-day period at Chinese New Year, 1972, five persons were killed in the Third Division, three of them within four miles of the pasar.

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000 to a suburbs, and hovels may exist next door to mansions.

3. Intermarriages

582 Ties between members of different ethnic groups frequently have been strengthened by inter-ethnic marriages. Such unions have involved persons of all the major ethnic groups, and a marriage between a man of any group and a woman of any other group is equally permissible.

Numerous Malays can trace their descent from Iban ancestors. [851] There is a greater incidence of Malay men marrying Iban women than the other way around, and the children of all Iban-Malay unions are recognized as members of the Malay society. Family ties between descendants of such marriages tend to be close. For example, of the two granddaughters of the famous Pengulu Dalam Munan,[69] one married a Malay, the other an Iban. The daughter of the Iban-Malay union, Noi, lives in Kampong Dato, Sibu. The granddaughter of the Iban marriage, Lemok, lives on Queensway. Recently, when Dara, the Malay great-granddaughter of Munan, married Lemok and her family attended the celebration, and Lemok's son, Stewart Saga, acted as chauffeur for the couple.

The first Chinese who came to Sarawak were traders, and they came as single men. Those who settled among the Iban took Iban wives and lived either in shophouses or in the longhouses. Those Chinese who

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[69] Cf. Sandin 1967-112.

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582 returned to China often as not left their Iban wives behind. There is little information available to assess the stability of marriages in which the man stayed on in Sarawak. There are a number of Chinese-Iban couples in both the rural and urban areas, including some of the more [851] notable citizens of Sibu. Generally, children of such marriages are identified with the ethnic group of the father.

From the time of the Second Rajah onward, European officers and company employees commonly took wives from among local women. Again, some of these unions were enduring, others lasted only for the time of the tour of the European. A number of such officers still are held in high regard for the provisions that they made for their wives and [851] for their children's education. Even though the children often took the father's surname, in a majority of cases they stayed in Sarawak, or returned to Sarawak following their study abroad.

851 [582] Children of inter-ethnic marriages (penakan) are readily accepted in the pluralistic society of Sibu. Marriages with Chinese and Caucasians are considered to be hypergamous by Ibans, and children tend to identify with the group offering maximum opportunity for security, acceptance and [186] exploitation. Because of a more conservative and critical attitude towards penakan in some longhouse communities, these children seek the first opportunity to move into the more liberal pasar society, which

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851 offers acceptance with less attention to ethnic background, and where
186 statuses are achieved by performance and production rather than ascribed according to relative grading of parental group identification.

4. Political Parties[70]

665 The formation of political parties in Sarawak is a relatively
177 late development, the first being formed in 1959. From the very beginning, most parties, with the exception of the Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA), have included members of several ethnic groups, and have aimed at the development of an inter-racial constituency. Given the short history of such formal political activity, it is not surprising that there are few ideological differences between the parties and that membership is recruited not so much on the basic of political philosophy as the rewards and interests offered by a party.[71]

At present, the ruling Alliance is comprised of members from each of the major local groups: Malay, Chinese and Iban. The formation of Malaysia in 1963 and the recent political coup by the very astute Chief Minister, Abdul Rahman Yaku'ub, has resulted in a new shuffle of the ethnic deck, with the Malays, who lost power through the 1946 cession, in a most favored position. The strength of Iban leaders, to which we have referred already, and their inability to work together

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[70] For a thorough discussion see Leigh, 1970.

[71] The local situation has many features that are similar to those in the Philippines as described by Lande, 1965.

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665 177 and reach decisions in the situations demanding compromise, has resulted in a general loss of power among those who account for one-third of the population of Sarawak.

175 177 In summary, the peopling of the Sibu District has taken place largely within the past century. Ibans, practicing shifting cultivation, moved into the area from the south via the Sarikei and Kanowit Rivers, crossed the Rejang and moved throughout the northern part of the District. The planting of rubber gardens and the shift to the cultivation of wet-rice in many parts of the District resulted in a sedentariness that is a new phenomenon within this century. Malays, sometimes in alliance with Ibans, moved in from the west. Relying at first on rice horticulture, which declined in importance, the Malay population came to depend upon trade and employment for their livelihood. Chinese were encouraged by the Second Rajah to migrate to the Rejang Delta, and the thousands of them who came wrought vast changes in the land on which they settled. Forsaking rice cultivation for the more lucrative industries of rubber, pepper and timber, the Chinese have built Sibu into the most important entrepot in Sarawak.

177 There has been exchange between members of these groups, and the small number of orang putih, at virtually all levels of life. So that in the pluralistic society of Sibu, accommodation and acculturation are long-established practices that have resulted in both structural, economic and

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177 cultural changes in Iban society, as we will see in the following chapters.

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SIBU: THE GROWTH OF AN URBAN CENTER

A. Brooke Policy and Practice

000 The founding of Sibu may be attributed to the Second Rajah, Charles Brooke, whose policies were largely determinative in the development of the town in its early history, and whose practices established the demographic patterns and small-holders economy in the supporting hinterland. The Second Rajah's government was a small-scale one, limited in personnel and funds, and based in theory upon two tenets which were central to his philosophy: respect for local custom, and a gradual, selective approach to change.

> "He was sure that the only type of central government which would suit his own scattered and diverse population was one-man rule, softened by sympathy and respect for regional variations in behavior. His government could not be uniform, because Sarawak was not."

Given the limitations of personnel and resources, the Rajah's philosophy served to rationalize the only kind of government that he was able to maintain. His government existed as a one-man rule with his officers all responsible to him. Informality was the rule of the administration, and variations according to the circumstances in every

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000 outstation. Legislation was made casually, with no comprehensive land law, no uniform system of taxation, and no code of regulations for the important native civil service. Most of the Second Rajah's important concepts and decisions were never committed to writing and can only be inferred from other records.[1]

The apparent casualness with which Charles Brooke ruled is indicative of his unwillingness to relinquish control of his government by commitment of power to a ruling body in Kuching or by employment of a specialized staff in the outstations.[2] In fairness to him, this unwillingness stemmed in part from the lack of funds to recruit capable personnel to whom he could commit power.

His government was one of glaring inconsistencies. While it supposedly was flexible and varied according to local needs, yet the Rajah ruled as an absolute monarch, both paternalistic and preferential [177] in his dealings with the people. He wrote that he preferred Sarawak as he found it, yet encouraged the immigration of thousands of Chinese into the Rejang Valley where their settlement has effected immense changes not only in the land but in the indigenes among whom they settled.

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[1] It was a government which gave little and demanded but the demands sometimes appeared quite large if judged by the response of rebels.

[2] There was no defined Secretariat in Kuching or specialized staff in the outstations.

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000 Brooke feared a possible invasion by European planters. This fear stemmed in part from an anxious concern that such a group not bilk the natives of their land, but also in part from the realization that planters would not have accepted his rule unquestioningly or put up with the casual government which he headed.[3]

175 177 Brooke's statement to the Bishop of Sarawak, that

> "I know the Dayak mind much better that I do my own brothers (and) countrymen..."[4]

was no idle boast. For Charles Brooke had lived more or less intimately with the Ibans at the time of that writing. But intimacy does not preclude paternalism; rather, his awareness of how well he knew his subjects served to re-inforce his conviction that he also knew what was best for them.

Although he wrote of keeping Sarawak as it was, and he stereotyped the Ibans in his desire to preserve their nativeness (Brooke 1866 II: 214), the policies he made and practices he implemented, such as the founding of fort-towns and the encouragement of Chinese group immigration, effected radical changes among the Ibans, and particularly in the Rejang area. In a very real way, Sibu was built because of the Ibans and, in part by

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[3] While the Rajah's policy of encouraging small-holding rubber vis-a-vis the plantations of West Malaysia has been praised by some writers, small-holders today cannot complete in quality of production with the plantations. Yesterday's blessings are today's curses.

[4] Charles Brooke to Bishop W.R. Mounsey, 20 December, 1909, SA.

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them, and in the interplay that has taken place in the past three-quarters of a century, their adaptation and orientation has changed in response to the developing town. From a people who were characterized by their independence, the Ibans of the Sibu District still maintain the value of independence as a cultural norm or ideal, but in fact are markedly dependent upon Sibu as an administrative center for the legitimization of their activities and investments, and as a center of trade for the goods they produced and others they need. The rise and development of Sibu has had widely ramifying effects both structurally and culturally in Iban society, as will be discussed below.

1. Expansion of Brooke Rule

Sibu owes its existence to the expansion of Brooke rule, Iban migrations and headhunting, and the Rajah's policy of constructing forts during the nineteenth century. Like many of Sarawak's other towns, Sibu was built where no permanent settlement had existed previously. Chinese traders were attracted to the protection of the fort and, typical of other Sarawak towns, Sibu became a center of the expanding local administration and trade.

In 1845, two events prompted the Rajah to visit the Rejang for the first time. Early in that year, a group Melanau spokesmen visited Kuching, complained about Iban headhunting, and asked for protection.

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175 721 Not surprisingly, the Rajah, anxious to protect the important sago-producing settlements at Matu, Paloh, Igan, Oya and Mukah, held the ruler of Sarikei, Data Patinggi Abdul Rahman, to be in league with the Ibans, if he was not actually instigating the attacks. The second event took place at the end of the year, when two of the Rajah's favorites and strongest supporters were murdered in Brunei by an anti-British faction. In 1846, he arranged for reprisals to be meted out to Brunei by a strong British force, and for a visit and show of strength to be made up the Rejang as far as Kanowit.

175 648 Brooke was slow to realize the full import of the Iban attacks, at first believing them to be headhunting raids from the Saribas and Skrang. But in 1849, he sent a force of native allies up the Kanowit River to punish Mujah, the famous pioneer and war leader. The force made no contact with Mujah, but destroyed eighteen Iban longhouses, the presence of which awakened the Rajah to the true nature of the migrations that were taking place.

In 1849, a fort was built at Kanowit, but

> "this pioneer effort at outstation administration in the Rejang, about which little else is known, failed."

In 1851, the Kanowit Fort was re-established with a British officer, Henry Steele, and seventy Malays in residence. The importance of the Kanowit Fort was that it commanded the Kanowit River system, one of the

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

175 two principal waterways through which the Ibans were moving into the
648 middle and lower Rejang. Further, the Kanowit District was a particularly troublesome area from the time of the first action in 1849 until the Asun rebellion, almost a century later in 1932.

2. The Founding of Fort Brooke

[166] The continuing movement of Ibans into the Rejang through the Kanowit and Sarikei Rivers, and their spread to the Igan and northern tributaries of the Rejang, prompted the construction of Fort Brooke. The strategic advantage of Sibu was its location at the point of division of the Rejang and Igan Rivers, providing a position for a relatively centralized administration of the area.

The beginning of Sibu as a town may be dated from 1862, when Fort Brooke was constructed. As noted previously, the only settlement in the area prior to that was the Melanau village at Kampong Nangka. Within a decade or so of the founding of the fort, Chinese traders had built a pasar of sixty shophouses, and Sibu was on its way to becoming the largest center for trade in the Rejang.

3. A Center in Pacification

000 The first purpose of the construction of Fort Brooke was pacification of the area under its jurisdiction so that economic development could take place. As noted in the last chapter, James Brooke was beset

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OOO with the Chinese uprising in 1857 and "the Malay Plot" (Pringle 1970, Chapter 4), both of which episodes drained the financial resources of the First Rajah to the point of Bankruptcy. The second and more lasting of the conflicts between the Brookes and the Brunei Malays, was over control of the economically valuable, sago-exporting Melanau country of the coast of the Third Division. Although the acquisition of the present Third Division was made by the Brookes in the Treaties of 1853 and 1861, the terms of the Treaties had to be backed by force of arms, and even half-a-century after the first treaty was signed, the Rejang was described as being still "in an unsettled state" (SG No. 461, 4 June, 1904).

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657 Fort Brooke became the central base of operations from which the Rajah's decrees was distributed, fines meted out to offenders and, when necessary, parties dispatched to enforce government policies or to carry out punitive raids. Iban leaders who mounted opposition to the Brooke government were brought to Sibu either for punishment or temporary incarceration. We have described in the last chapter how Munan and his anembiak were required to move from the Krian to Sibu, and how Lintong had to leave the Julau to move under the shadow of Fort Brooke. Similarly, the dissident Poi Ibans were made to move to the Igan where they could be kept under close surveillance.

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648 In the beginning, the force in Fort Brooke was comprised of one British officer and twenty or so Indian Sepoys, exiled from India following the Mutiny of 1857. From available evidence, the force was never a large one, and heavy reliance was placed upon the alliances between the Rajah's government and friendly Ibans. For example, Munan [538] could readily raise a band of fighters, and did so when required. The two late great war-leaders of Bawang Assan, Gani Apai Engkamat and Pengulu Nanta, are the focus of numerous stories for their bravery in the service of the Rajah.[5]

By the beginning of this century, according to the terms of agreement offered by the Second Rajah to encourage Chinese group immigration, police barracks were constructed,[6] and by the 1920's, both Sarawak Police and Rangers were stationed in Sibu. In addition to the Sepoys mentioned above, Ibans, Malays and Chinese were recruited to the Sarawak Police, while the Rangers remained almost entirely an Iban unit. Recruitment of Ibans for the Police was stopped in 1926, in part due to an amok[7] scare which occurred in Sibu, in part due to

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[5] According to local lore, Pengulu Nanta was possessed of kebal or invulnerability. In one battle, he fell and though slashed viciously across the back of the neck, he was unwounded.

[6] "The somewhat unsightly condition of the Police Quarters to which my attention was directed on Your Highness' last visit to Sibu has been rectified" (SG No. 441, 1 October, 1902).

[158] [7] Literally, "running wild," a culturally patterned disturbance in which the individual slashes about him at anyone within reach with a knife, cleaver, or other sharp object.

195 the strongly pro-Malay attitudes of the Third Rajah which were beginning
648 to emerge at that time.[8]

177 Sibu continues as a center for pacification, and at present, a policy of open recruitment of members of all ethnic groups is followed by the Police, but indigenous groups continue to dominate the Rangers and Field Force. Recruitment by and employment in the various branches of law enforcement has resulted in a long history of exposure of indigenes and their families to life in Sibu. Recently, with the communist campaign in Malaya in the 1950's, confrontation with Indonesia in the 1960's, and the increase in terrorist activities locally over the past two years,[9] the number of men employed in the military and police has been greatly increased. Ibans and other indigenes served as Scouts and Rangers in Malaya, and along the Indonesian border. An estimated 500 members of the Field Force live in barracks at Upper Lanang, and a like number of Rangers are encamped beyond the Sibu Airport. Some members of the Police live in barracks off Race Course Road, others in private residences. Some men live with their families in the barracks, others have their families in apartments along Lanang Road, at Sungai Antu, or wherever space can be found off the many tracks and side roads.

[8] This will be discussed in detail later, but the Native Service became an entirely Malay preserve under the Third Rajah.

[9] While incidents such as the anti-Malaysia riot in August, 1963, the occasional painting of schools and the Chartered Bank, have a long history, the frequency of terrorist activities has picked up in the past two years when the Maoist "mushroom tactics" have been followed.

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000found off the many tracks and side roads.

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657 The establishment of Police and Rangers at Fort Brooke enabled the Rajah through his Residents to implement decrees suppressing head-hunting and raiding. Offenders were brought before the Resident's Court, where western justice was dealt them. In one of the earlies records of such a trial, the following appears:

Fort Brooke
Sibu
28th May, 1891

> "Rajah. - I have the honor to inform Your Highness that the five S'Batu Dyaks, Merchi, Masi, Ayus, Chambul, and Lawai, were yesterday found guilty in the Supreme Court here of the wilful murder of four Kanowit Dayaks, named Ambul, Baling, Belitang, and Benang in the Katibas River, that I accordingly passed sentence of death upon these five murderers, and, acting upon Your Highness's instructions, had this sentence carried into effect in the customary manner."

B. Development of Administrative Functions

The founding of Fort Brooke and the growth of Sibu pasar was accompanied by the development of a number of administrative functions, through which the Iban population increasingly has been related to the center. The more important of these are discussed below.

1. Courts

From the last decade of the nineteenth century until the present, the Sibu courts have grown in importance in the lives not only of urban residents but also as a focus of power over the lives and property of

175 657 persons in outlying regions as well. For example, an early Resident's report noted that

> "in November, in the Sibu Court, Kan, Saran, and Lajun were fined $50 each for maliciously bringing false charges against Laun, Tuah Kampong of Tian. Simadom, Sigat, and S'Badul, of Matu, were fined $20 each for assaulting one Chu Beng, and at Kapit, Private Dulah, fortman, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for theft of Government money, and of goods belonging to his comrades. . ."

The increase in both criminal and civil cases resulted in a division of labor between the Resident's Court, which heard murder cases, the District Court which tried civil cases, and the Magistrate's [69] Court which handled petty debt cases and other legal matters. The growth of the court system, combined with the Iban's proclivity to litigation and preference of an outsider[10] as arbiter, resulted in additional gains in the Rajah's government's strength as Ibans and other indigenes sought for hearings before the courts.

2. Political Integration

175 657 177 A further development which contributed to the transfer of judical power from the traditional longhouse community to the urban center was the creation of a hierarchical structure of official power to which

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[829] [10]The fear of factions is expressed clearly in this preference, for favoritism and nepotism are not vices but ways of strengthening one's position and that of one's relatives vis-a-vis others. Factions are not suspected: they are recognized as existing and a part of Iban social organization. So, appeal to a more neutral/party assures an impartial verdict.

175 the Ibans became oriented. Whereas the Ibans had supported no leaders
657 and acknowledged the leadership of individuals only on ad hoc occasions,
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173 for example, the orang tau tusut (genealogist) for researching family
787 lines to determine the marriageability of a couple, or the tuai burong (augur) to discern the meaningful calls and flights of omen birds for events connected with the horitcultural season or pejalai, the Rajah
622 established a network of power ties with himself as the vertex. With encouraged or enforced sedentariness, Iban longhouse communities selected tuai rumah who adjudicated problems and land disputes internal to the
631 community. At a higher level were the pengulu (or penghulu), a position that was created by the Second Rajah and the title was first used in the investiture of the pengulu in Sibu.[11] The Iban Pengulu, the Malay tuah kampong, and the Chinese kang chew formed the second level in the hierarchical structure, as community leaders. At the third level was a diverse native service with a corps of Native Officers, composed largely but not exclusively of Malay aristocrats. Above them, at the fourth level, were the Residents, and, at the apex, the Rajah.

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[11] "At the Fort (Brooke) the Resident (Mr. Low) had assembled all the Dayak tuahs who were now to receive the title of 'pengulu'. The Fort was crowded and H.H. the Rajah then addressed the meeting. . .he hoped that the Dayak chiefs before him who had for so long supported the government would continue to do so, not only in their own houses, but by all acting in concert, and by doing this should any disaffection arise they themselves could suppress it in the land." (SG 212, 1 September, 1883)

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"Including the Rajah, the entire structure may be regarded as a four-(or five, depending on whether the tuai rumah is included) tiered layering of usually benevolent despotisms, excepting perhaps the level of the community headmen who acted more as arbitrators and intermediaries than as rulers."

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[177] The creation of the status of pengulu had far-reaching implications in the loosely structured Iban political organization. The pengulu supervised collection of the annual family tax, and received a commission of [692] ten per cent on all taxes collected. The pengulu were empowered to judge inter-house disputes, such as quarrels over land boundaries, adultery, or cases that the tuai rumah could not resolve. In the Third Division, pengulu were allowed to levy fines on which they received a [765] commission of ten per cent. In the mid-1920's, under the Third Rajah, the pengulu of the Third Division began to receive salaries in lieu of commissions on taxes and fines.

[484] The pengulu were expected to raun ("travel around") at least once a year, to hear cases and keep in touch with local situations, as well to appraise residents of longhouses of government policies and activities of concern to them. In 1939, a rumah kunsil ("Native Officers' House," for the past twenty years or more commonly known as the Rumah Temuai, "Guest House") was built beside the stream, that flowed past Sibu Island and into the Igan. This house had seven rooms, or one for each of the seven pengulu of the Sibu District in which they could stay while in Sibu.

631 There also was a central room where cases could be heard, one of the requirements being that a kunsil had to be present to witness and record the details of the cases.

MB 631 484 A development of significance in the increasing pasar-ward orientation of Ibans in this District has been the virtual cessation of the pengulus' visiting longhouses in their areas in the past decade. As a result of the cessation of raun pengulu, Ibans having cases to be adjudicated must come to Sibu, for, with the exception of Pengulu Gelau of the Lower Igan, all of the pengulu spend a considerable amount of their time in Sibu.[12] Two of them, Pengulu Poh (Pasai) and Pengulu Pengabang (Assan), have residences in Sibu. Two others, Pengarah Chundi (Aup) and Pengulu Chat (Bawang Assan), come into Sibu once a week or more often. Pengulu Meringgai (Durin), who lives farther away, comes in for stays of a week or longer, and the seventh, Pengulu Pilang, has left the area of his jurisdiction, Menyan, and has farmed for the past three years on Pulau Keretau.

3. District Office

657 Another of the many administrative branches of Government located in Sibu that is of considerable importance in the life of the Ibans is

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[12] Much time is spent in the Raban Hotel where business deals are transacted or where cases are heard as necessary.

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657 the District Office which handles a large number of activities and serves
[175] many functions. The term "District" was not clearly defined until after the Second Rajah, sometimes Divisions being referred to as Districts, sometimes individual river systems were termed Districts. It was only under the Third Rajah that Districts and District Officers came to have their present meanings.

The District Officer is the administrative head of the Sibu District, and is assisted by a Sarawak Administrative Officer. (S.A.O.). The District Officer is an advisor to the Urban and Rural District Councils, and all policy matters of both councils must be channeled through the District Officer for his information, whether he agrees with the matters or not. He also is the Probate Officer, handling all estates of money or land that must be probated.

Regarding Chinese and indigenous affairs, all deeds to property
[578] must be registered in the District Office. Family and land disputes that are not settled to the satisfaction of all parties by the tuai rumah and penghulu, in the case of Ibans, or the kapitan, in the case of Chinese, may be appealed to the D.O. Chinese, civil and church marriages must be registered with the Registrar of Marriages in the District Office in order for them to be recognized by Government, and in accordance with the Laws of Sarawak. All businesses opened in the Urban area must be approved by the Urban District Council, and registered in the District Office

Ibans who want to travel to Limbang, places where hundreds of them have gone because of the high wages, must obtain facility passes from the District Office in order to enter Brunei en route to the other places. When a large number of Ibans, i,e., twenty or more, want to travel as a group to another part of Sarawak, e.g., to Simanggang, they must obtain permission from the District Officer who is charged with the welfare of residents living in his area.

Records of all Iban cases heard by a pengulu have been entered in the "Dayak Report" since 1934 up to the present. Each pengulu is required to submit an account of his travels and an appraisal of conditions existing in each longhouse visited, during his raun that are made, theoretically, twice each year and on special occasions. The Office is custodian of the "Pengulu Tin System," a set of boxes lettered from "A-G" containing a directory of all longhouses and a census of each.[13] All guns owned by Ibans must be licensed in the District Office where ammunition is sold, fresh shot-gun cartridges being sold upon submission of discharged casings.

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[13] The tins contain censuses conducted in 1958-9, 1966, and 1970, and are a valuable source of information about the residence patterns of Ibans and the fragmentation and evolution of longhouse communities.

4. District Councils

175 657 In the early 1920's, the Sibu Municipal Board was established to assist in administration of urban affairs, primarily having responsibilities for rental rates, zoning, building permits and registration of business (SG No. 864, 1 September, 1925, page 227). The Municipal Board was replaced by the District Council, a short-lived body which came into existence in 1947 (SG No. 1071, 2 June, 1947).

In January, 1952, the Sibu Urban District Council (S.U.D.C.) was formed to replace the Municipal Board, with jurisdiction over the area

> "from the end of the Aup Road across and including Sungei Merah and the air landing ground, down to a point somewhat opposite Pulau Kerto, inclusive of Pulau Kerto, across to include a small portion of Tanjong Engkilo, then following down the Igan to the starting point near the Aup Road."

631 At the same time, the Sibu Rural District Council, (S.R.D.C.) a multi-racial organization, was established to replace the Sea Dayak Local Authority, and to administer the remainder of the District.

The Rural District Council has been of great importance in the lives and activities of Ibans of this District, relating them to the [65] administration and services of Government. Each tuai bilik has at least an annual contact with the S.R.D.C. when he pays his taxes.[14]

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[14] Taxes are based upon rentable value of property, and in the case of Ibans, each bilik must pay a rate of M$3.60 or 4.20, depending on the age of the house. In addition, Ibans pay $1 for each shotgun, $10 for radio license (to Telecoms), $1 per acre of farm land, and $3 per acre of rubber garden.

631 The Council is the licesnse-issuing authority for all rural shops, an
[443] increasing number of which are being run by Ibans. The Council derives its funds from taxes and licenses.

871 Within the last decade or so, the services of the Council have
631 been much sought by Ibans from almost every community, particularly education. The rewards that schooling brought to those who were able to get positions as teachers, Government and company clerks, whetted the always keen appetite of the Ibans for profit and opportunity, this time through education. As a result, the Council was requested by scores to longhouse communities to put a school di kaki tangga' ("at the foot of the ladder," according to Alli Majang, an officer in the
631 Education Department). In addition to responsibility for primary school
657 education, the Council also provides maternity and child care in the District, employing and training indu' bidan ("mid-wives") who either
[165] are in residence or travel to rural communities. These services have
[177] resulted in a significant decrease in infant mortality rates, through ante- and post-natal care, and have contributed to the new orientation of Ibans to medical facilities provided by private doctors, clinics, and hospital in Sibu.

631 The Council is composed of Councillors elected from 22 wards.
[666]

631 Eight of the Councillors are Ibans.[15] The Council meets quarterly, dealing with matters of revenue and finance, road building and maintenance, education and public health.

5. Codification of Adat

671 657 175 The Brookes' respect for local customary laws and their strong determination to bring these into line with western codes resulted in a number of meetings of the Rajahs' representatives with Ibans knowledgeable in adat. One of the most important aum ("meeting," miting) was held in 1932 when every pengulu except one in the Third Division met in Sibu met with the Tuan Muda Bertram Brooke and other Government officials. Reporting on the aum, the Tuan Muda wrote:

> "It had been impressed on the Penghulus and Tuai Rumah that the rumours of Government interference with tribal usage were purely illusory: the trouble lay with the Dyaks themselves, who were at variance as to what constituted breaches of their own customs, so that Your Highness had summoned this aum at Sibu, in order that the matter might be thoroughly threshed out and definite uniformity arrived at amongst Penghulus, Tuai, and anembiak throughout the Division."

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[15] The Iban Councillors and the wards they represent (in parentheses) are: Pengulu Poh ak Kaya (Pasai Siong), Badang ak Gamau (Rasau), M.P. Tibob ak Rantai (Keladi), Pengarah Chundi ak Pengulu Resa (Penasu), Jonathan Banggau ak Renang (Lassa), Pengulu Pengabang ak Impak (Assan), Sandah ak Pengulu Jarraw (Naman), and Anji ak Judi (Menyan).

671 657 175 Participants in the aum began by listing all controversial customs and penalties, and debate was held on each aspect of adat about which there was disagreement. After some consonance had been reached on each item, the pengulu and tuai returned to consult with their anembiak, and after a final discussion, the Iban adat for the Third Division was drafted:

> "Pengulu Dalam (Ujang) opened the proceedings with a speech announcing that uniformity had been achieved, and the Resident then read out the clauses in detail, setting forth the agreed penalty for each offence. No voice of dissent was heard."[16]

Subsequent meetings were held, for example in 1936 and 1952, for the amending of the codified adat, with the publication of Tusun Tunggu[17] as the product of the aum. Although both the Rajah's and the Colonial Government attempted to codify Iban adat to bring it into line with the rulers' expectations, experience since the publication of Tusun Tunggu indicates that it is impossible to comprehend adat in a neatly arranged code.[18] As one astute student of customary law in

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[530] [829] [16]Undoubtedly true, but the Iban expression, aum juak, deriving from a folk-story about the ikan juak (a river fish) who was false to an agreement be made not to bite the legs of birds who alighted in the river, reveals a common understanding among Ibans that you cannot take silent consent or even acknowledged agreement to preclude dissent outside of an aum.

[17]A list of fines.

[764] [18]I have seen a tuai rumah and his anembiak bassle for two hours about the propitiation to be paid the antu before a corpse of someone who died outside the house could be brought in. On another occasion, a pengulu, tuai rumah and tuai bilik spent an evening discussing payments to be made when bringing a corpse across another family's ruai.

671 Sarawak has noted,
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> ". . .The adat of Sarawak is neither simple nor straight forward and is not to be traced to any one source. . . Adat has remained adat in its pure form, a rule of tradition to be found only in the mind of society."

657 The codification of Iban adat was consonant with the policy of
[671] indirect rule which was followed into the colonial era. For it permitted the Governments, Brooke and British, to select and support those features of adat that were congenial with their purposes and make them normative through implementation by Government-endorsed leaders.[19]

6. Legitimization of Land Holdings

423 An important aspect of Iban adat which underwent radical change
[177] was that dealing with land tenure. As we have noted, traditionally, a pioneer and his descendants claimed usufruct rights to land cleared for cultivation. Just as individuals claimed rights over land they had cleared and farmed (temuda'), so, also, longhouse communities claimed customary rights over sites of longhouses built and deserted (tembawai).
657 Brooke restraint of Iban migrations and encouragement of Chinese group
423 immigration created a situation which resulted in the enactment of many land laws, which, though by intent were designed to protect the indigenes from the Chinese, resulted in a new context to which traditional adat had to be adjusted, and a demographic pattern unlike any other area of Sarawak.

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[19] This also permitted the rationalization of Government's paternalistic interference.

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657 The Second Rajah was determined to promote Chinese group immigration, for the economic development of the lower Rejang. Despite early indications to the contrary, he was convinced that any problems over land between the Chinese and other ethnic groups could be resolved. His view that there was empty land and plenty for all was essentially true,[20] but as we have described in Chapter One, much land remains empty because it is infertile, inaccessible, or both. As Pringle succinctly puts it:

> ". . .As a matter of practical fact, there is frequently not enough usable land for all, and since World War II this effective shortage has been a growing cause of political tension."

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423 Land disputes between Chinese and Ibans began in the first year of the Foochow arrival, and were a continuous source of conflict between the persons involved as well as to Government. The disputes reached a climax in the "Binatang Disputes of 1925,"[21] but tensions over land and the inadequacy of existing land laws continue to vex Government today.

The problems that arose were in part technical, in part cultural, and involved the two groups' use and attitudes towards land. The Chinese, coming from the overpopulated southeastern provinces of China, saw the

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[20] An estimated three-quarters of Sarawak is still virgin forest (Annual Report, 1963:49).

[21] See, "The Binatang Land Disputes, 1925," SG, No. 1331, 1969: 13-15.

18:Sutlive E,M-S (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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177 largely unsettled areas of the Rejang as land opened for occupation
423 and cultivation. The land which the Ibans had cleared already of virgin jungle with large trees and covered with secondary growth, looked especially appealing. What they did not understand and, surprisingly, what the Rajah would not comprehend, was the Iban attitude toward the land. The conflict basically was one between settlers whose farming techniques included the complete clearing and fertilization of land for permanent occupation and continuous cultivation, and shifting cultivators, whose techniques included clearing land sufficiently to plant rice amidst the stumps for one or two years, then moving on, but claiming usufruct rights in perpetuity[22] and assuming responsibilities to the spirits of those who had invested their energies and lives in the land.[23]

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[654] [22] A recent incident involved an Iban who claimed damages for loss of fruit trees cut down by a Government survey team on land he inherited but has not developed and has not seen in five years.

[23] "In my experience the administrator discussing land rights with a peasant is usually talking at cross purposes; for the former "my land" implies a personal individual form of tenure, for the latter it may involve a host of obligations towards abstrusely connected relatives not to mention their ancestral spirits. It seems to me altogether too much to suppose that the enterprising Iban who acquires registered land in a native area [113] suddenly adjusts his legal notions to those of the Land Office." (Leach, "Land and Custom," SG No. 1073, 1 August, 1947).

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In the Second Rajah's attempt to resolve the land disputes, he set aside land on both sides of the Rejang for a distance of twelve miles below Sibu for Chinese settlers, requiring all non-Chinese to move immediately from the area. Describing this action by the Rajah, James Hoover wrote:

> "From the very beginning land disputes arose between the colonists and the natives so that something had to be done to define the boundaries of the colony. On one of the late Rajah's (Charles Brooke) visits he called into the local fort (Sibu) the head men of the Chinese, Malays, and Dayaks, and said to them: 'This colony is here. We will not discuss whether it is a good thing or not, but since it is here, and there is abundant land for everybody in this district, I am going to set aside certain areas for the Foochows, out of which they will not be allowed to settle, and into which no others will be allowed to go. All Dayaks, Malays and others now living in this area must move out at once.' He then had a large map hung on the wall, and he himself with a blue pencil marked points on the river bank showing the extent of the grants."

The Rajah's designation of certain areas for Chinese in no way solved the problems, and complaints of their encroachments onto in-
425 digenes' lands continued. His conviction that drawing out lines of settlement would keep the groups apart was naive, for it did not reckon with the Chinese farmers' desire for more land, or with the indigenes' willingness to sell any and all land if the price seemed right to them. A further practical problem was that no means existed for adequate supervision of the settlements of the Chinese immigrants and their cultivation, so that Government had no way of knowing whether they trespassed onto

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

175 other land than that granted them.[24]
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The continuing disputes between Chinese and non-Chinese in the lower Rejang resulted in the promulgation of a number of land
[654] laws, aimed at protecting the indigenes from the Chinese.[25] Out-stations of the Land and Survey Department were established to carry out surveys and to establish property boundaries as well as to enforce
175 land regulations. Although the Second Rajah assumed that his intimate
177 knowledge of the Ibans served in his preservation of their "nativeness,"
423 yet the laws he instituted and the boundaries he drew around the various ethnic groups had far-reaching effects in the life of the Ibans. That these laws contravened the adat which was a part of the traditional Iban life as the Rajah perceived it, goes without saying.[26] His restraint

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[24] "Owing to the lack of a proper Land Department at Sibu, with consequently no surveys, land grants have been issued promiscuoulsy in the past." (SG No. 804, 1 November, 1920).

[25] The most important land laws are those enacted in 1931 and 1933, on which present regulations are based.

[26] Writing on the bind Government officers find themselves in between land regulations and adat, F.R.K.K. warns that "much harm in land affairs (can be done) by rigourously following our existing land laws. . . We very much doubt whether the axiom in the 1939 Secretariat circular, 'Removal to another district automatically extinguishes all rights of user' is in every case in accordance with the customary law of a particular community. In fact, natives do change their abode, arrange for someone to look after their land and return afterwards to enjoy the benefit of the land. Again, the injunction, 'no community may hold up land in excess
[113] of requirements,' (who is to determine the 'requirements'?) ("Customary Land Tenure," SG No. 1130, 31 May, 1952).

195 of their migrations, encouragement of rubber planting, and establish-
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423 ment in the Land and Survey Department of an external authority to validate land tenure radically changed the social organization of the Ibans who responded to his Government, as they became sedentary and
[193] oriented to a cash economy. The practice of preserving lengthy genealogies for validating land holdings, typical of shifting cultivators, is virtually extinct among Sibu Ibans, for authority now is invested in the surat tanah ("land letter"). Although not all land in the District is held under permit or has been surveyed, yet there is none that can be described as unclaimed or undesignated on land maps.

7. Protector of Resources

The development of Sibu as a center for the administration of
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657 resources included the establishment of the Forest Department in 1919. The Department has responsibility for the constitution and administration of various categories of forests, for example, those that may be exploited by timber companies and those that may not be.

The florescence of the timber industry in the late 1940's and
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657 from the 1950's on, required overall supervision to insure against the
313 indiscriminate felling of forests. Of concern to the Ibans were those forests that were important to them for the wood for their longhouses and the products that they collected for sale. The rapidly expanding timber operations struck fear among many Ibans that the forests and

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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177 their valuable products would be irretrievably lost. As a result,
657 petitions were made by the tuai rumah of many longhouses, and where
313 possible and reasonable,[27] the Department constituted communal forests which could not be opened for commercial exploitation by timber companies, but were the preserves of the respective communities.

The constitution of some forests by the Department as Native Forest Reserves has permitted the exploitation of such forests by logging companies, and a share of the value of the timber to be divided among the tuai rumah and their anembiak holding customary rights to the [434] forest. This has been a profitable business both for the timber companies and enterprising Ibans; for the companies, controlled by Chinese[28] as described in Chapter One, have had to give gifts and make payments in order to procure licenses to clear the forests through the tuai rumah.

With the booming timber prices and the Ibans' desire for cash, coupled with the strategic position they hold vis-a-vis the Native Forest

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[27] In some instances, tuai rumah did not make petitions until all land contiguous their longhouses had been allocated to other houses, or made applications for land some distance away, claiming customary rights that they were unable to substantiate.

[28] Under law, Chinese operators, are required to have a specified number of Iban "partners." While adhering to the letter of the law, Chinese still maintain effective control of timber and sawmill operators.

177 657 313 Reserves, some have been able to use their ethnic membership and pangkat ("title") to advantage in maximizing the financial opportunity. For example, those pengulu and tuai rumah who have been able to gain control of forests sought by timber operators have been able to convert these political advantages to personal economic benefit.

177 477 313 The competition for forest resources and the profits to be gained from them is fierce, and sometimes it is carried on in ways that contravene local forest regulations. Accusations and counter-accusations have been made about claim-jumping and gift-giving. For example, Ibans from the Igan have entered claims to tracts in Naman; one man from Bavang Assan obtained a license for operations in Assan; and several men collaborated in an abortive attempt to obtain rights over a vast forest on the Oya River. Because of alleged contraventions, both "little fish" and "big fish", to use the local expression, have been brought to court and sometimes found guilty of the charges.[29]

8. Permits and Probate

177 428 657 A further development of the growing power of Sibu as an administrative center in the lives of the Ibans of the District is the number

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[29] The former include claim jumpers or those who seek to defraud by taking money in advance on forests to which they have no claims; the latter include a former Superintendent of Forests, Sibu, who though acquitted in his trial was forced to leave Sarawak, and towkays who have been charged with mismanagement.

177 of estates that are brought to the District Office for probate. Although
428 as one informant stated this is relatively new and not many Ibans are
657 aware of p'robit (v.f. m'ribit), yet in figures available, Iban estates accounted for almost one-third of those probated in Sibu. For example, in 1952, Iban estates numbered 37 of a total of 105 probated (see Table 11 on page 167). This development is due to several factors. First is the Iban principle of partible inheritance. With the exception of smoked head (antu pala'), all other objects in a bilik may be divided among the heirs. Usually, division is made between the heirs or, if they fail to agree on the division, the tuai rumah may be asked to determine the share of each heir. Second, as already noted, as the Ibans moved into the Sibu District, they planted rubber gardens and began the cultivation of swamp rice, with a resulting sedentariness. Instead of cultivating and moving on, as had been their practice, they invested time, energy
[175] and money in the development of their lands. Third, with the Chinese
[423] immigrations reaching flood proportions by the mid-1920's, it became expedient if not imperative for Ibans to acquire O.T's ("Occupation Tickets") to guarantee their rights to farmlands and rubber gardens. Without an O.T., an Iban faced possible litigation over land to which he claimed usufruct rights, but to which a Chinese had been granted a temporary title.[30]

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[30] In 1925, when 4,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Sibu, a total of 3,100 temporary titles or O.T.'s were issued for "newly opened land," much of which was still claimed by Ibans as it had been farmed recently
[113] by them. This was a prime cause of the "Binatang Disputes of 1925" (SGG 16 August, 1926, see also SG No. 1331, 1969: 13-15).

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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Iban estates that are probated are composed of real property, such as farmlands or rubber gardens to which government-issued permits are held. When a permit to such property is inherited by an individual, he has the name on the permit changed from that of the deceased to his own in the District Office, and pays the fee for the transfer. When several persons inherit land under permit, it may be necessary for new permits to be issued, if the land is divided, to each heir and payment of the probate charge is divided among the heirs. The crucial factor, of which Ibans are well aware, is that the transfer must be made in the District Office, according to Government regulations, otherwise the permit is invalid. Hence, the beginnings of the practice of probate.

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The development of Sibu as an administrative center has been important in the life of the Ibans of this District in the shift of the locus of power for legitimizing activities from the bilik-family and long-house community to Government. One of the strongest facts of Iban society is the high degree of fragmentation and the tradition of every man doing what is right in his heart. There never has been any over-riding "tribal unity" despite the use of a common language and the sharing of a common culture. Thus, the power held by the various offices in Sibu, including law enforcement, courts, the penguluu, and control of natural resources such as land and timber, has resulted in a centripetal pull on the Iban towards the pasar where he must handle many of his business affairs,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

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TABLE 11

Iban Probate Matters
1952

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Probate Number	Name	Net Value of Estate	Probate Charge
3/52	Tama(f) ak Below	250.	------
4/52	Lembang ak Ajang	2,050.	30.75
6/52	Nayak(f) ak Manang Serba	3,400.	61.00
25/52	Agong ak Laba	400.	------
26/52	Entir ak Lagok	950.	------
28/52	Lau ak Atim	1,190.	11.90
36/52	Suran ak Busang	20.	------
37/52	Alot ak Bubong	160.	------
38/52	Nyawai apai Linggang	450.	------
39/52	A. Sulang ak Limbai	1,080.	10.80
41/52	Usan ak Chabu	1,600.	16.00
43/52	A. Unggat ak Mut	900.	------
45/52	Ikeh ak Kalom	1,200.	12.00
45/52	Nor(f) ak Inggir	100.	------
48/52	Datu ak Chendang	1,320.	13.20
52/52	Nyamuk ak Chili	500.	------
60/52	Lambong apai Sallah	1,000.	10.00
67/52	Lon apai Ibai	380.	------
70/52	Rumpang apai Dajai	1,200.	12.00
74/52	Nang ak Jaya	915.	------
77/52	Ludan ak Ulak	325.	------
82/52	Igoh apai Embi	550.	------
85/52	Bayang ak Nasat	450.	------
86/52	Abeng apai Kulan	1,125.	------
87/52	Adam	2,000.	20.00
88/52	Biah indai Lah	200.	------
89/52	Angat laki Dayang	300.	------
90/52	Buje ak Danggang	95.	------
91/52	Changgai ak Ugom	250.	------
92/52	Burud ak Asap	650.	------
94/52	Ujang ak Kudang	150.	------
96/52	Eron ak Skalai	200.	------
97/52	Jagok apai Lao	1,650.	16.50
98/52	Lawi ak Awek	990.	------
100/52	Kudang ak Empaga	2,200.	22.00
104/52	Agum apai Inta	184.	------
105/52	Ulang ak Sebuang	350.	------

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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177 657 621 such as paying annual taxes, buying radio and bicycle licenses, requesting aid for padi planting, and legitimizing his land holdings.

C. Sibu as an Entrepot

128 In Chapter One we discussed the economic bases upon which Sibu has been built, together with the major phases in its development. In the last chapter, we described the immigration of the Foochow community and its domination of Sibu's commerce. We turn now to consider briefly the rise and characteristics of Sibu as a center of trade, for lacking any significant industrialization, the town and its residents have been largely dependent upon the import and export business.

175 439 177 By 1880, or eighteen years after the founding of Sibu, Hokkien traders had built two rows of forty shophouses each along what now is Channel Road. Taking advantage of the protection offered by the Fort and its force, the traders established their business of exchanging cloth, salt, hardware and valuables for jungle produce from the rich Rejang hinterland.

In 1903, the first Foochow shophouses were built on Channel Road, where a disastrous fire in 1898 had destroyed almost all of the former shophouses. Some of the Hokkien shopkeepers rebuilt and continued to do business with members of their own dialect group, Ibans and Malays. The Foochows at first tended to do business solely among themselves.

Trade was light and irregular because of two factors: first, the principal items for export were the various jungle products, which were collected on a casual basis according to the inclination of the collectors as well as the signs and seasons.[31] Sometimes the indigenes appeared laden with goods for exchange, more often they did not.

Secondly, problems of shipping related to the distance of Sibu from the sea, and the difficulty of navigating the Rejang with its treacherous sandbars, prevented larger ocean-going vessels calling at the port, and made the trips of ships in and out of Sibu very irregular. Commenting on a voyage of the S.S. Rajah of Sarawak, Baring-Gould exulted that,

> "Captain McDonnell found little difficulty in navigating the vessel round the numerous sand banks in the river, but that the rocks below Sarikei are somewhat of a hinderance as they can only be passed on a rising ride; the depth at low water in places being 12 feet and at high water 24 feet."

The introduction of rubber and the proliferation of rubber gardens, and to a lesser extent pepper, provided products of more predictable and dependable character than the sometimes casually gathered jungle products.

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[169] [31] A poorly-lined pig's liver, a bad dream, the cry of an omen bird, or a bird's flight from left (raup) instead of from the right (mimpin) could result in a collecting trip's being called off.

195 The Chinese immigrants were the first to seize upon the potential in
197 rubber, and Ibans were quick to follow their example. For rubber
439 offered a viable alternative to rice, a dependable source of income, albeit mercurial, and an item which always could be exchanged.[32]

175 By 1920, the pasar was being expanded to handle the increased
177 volume of business, and to provide employment for men either disinclined to horticulture or landless.[33] In March of that year, twenty-four lots for new shophouses were auctioned off on lanes leading off Channel Road.[34] One year later, a "pork and vegetable market" was started, and completed the following year. In November, 1925, a further fourteen shop sites were auctioned, bringing a total of S$44,600. Even at that early date, Sibu's land inflation had begun.[35]

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[314] [32] Even a present with the price of rubber at only M$20 per picul, a large number of Ibans and Chinese continue to tap their trees; for, in the words of one man, "It's either tap or starve."

[33] Cf. SG No. 1167, 31 May, 1955:98, for a discussion of the number of Chinese who entered trade due to land pressures.

[34] Located on what are now Cross and Blacksmith Roads, these lots brought S$43,969 (SG No. 812, 2 May, 1921:107).

[35] Land in the Sibu pasar is sometimes calculated by the square foot as, for example, when the Sarawak Electricity Supply Company wanted to buy a small section of land for its purposes and paid several thousand dollars for about twenty square feet.

Not all Chinese were inclined to forsake rice cultivation, for
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177 experiences of shortages of rice during and shortly after the First World War had convinced a number of them that in the absence of rice, rubber makes mighty tough chewing. By 1920, the Foochow production of rice had reached an estimated twenty thousand piculs, not wholly adequate for feeding their community but going far towards it. The Government purchased a rice mill and rice plant for husking the locally-grown rice both for consumption by the producers and for sale in the pasar. The single mill was inadequate, and shortly afterwards a second mill was purchased by two Chinese businessmen and set up at Sungai Bidut across from Sibu.

The rise of Sibu as an entrepot and its expansion permitted the channeling of a considerable part of the surplus population, i.e., those who either would not farm or could not farm for want of land, into trade. Yet despite the growth of trade and the building of shophouses, problems of unemployment and housing continued to beset the community. When rubber prices were high, owners of gardens took on help to tap the trees. But when the prices fell, the tappers were released "in hundreds and are unable to find work" (SG No. 809, 1 February, 1921:14). Government took on as many men as possible and set them to road-building and clearance. The shortage of available housing resulted in the rise of rentals, until more shophouses were built to receive the increase in

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

population. There are several reports of unemployment, housing shortages and rise in rentals over the third and fourth decades of this century.

The immediate importance of these developments to this study is that they established a pattern which still is held to and practiced by Chinese and indigenes in times of want. That is, if rice crops fail and the price of rubber falls, men and women come into Sibu to seek for temporary, day-labor, such as unloading charcoal from lighters, or for more permanent work with construction companies. Absorption of a number, sometimes large, sometimes small, of under-employed persons from rural areas, and the creation of an expectation of such absorption has been a most significant development in Sibu's growth as a center of trade.[36]

By 1920, the volume of trade carried on in Sibu had more than trebled the amount at the beginning of the century. The total exports from Sibu in 1900 amounted to S$846,226, of which almost three-fourths (S$592,426) comprises gutta and other local rubber. By 1919, exports from Sibu had reached the amount of S$2,801,246, of which ninety per

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[36] Many persons who come to Sibu looking for employment claim that there is no work for them in the rural areas. What actually is meant is that there is no work which they want to take up. As we will discuss in the following chapter, kerja ("work") in Iban has come to denote wage-earning, and the person who farms or taps rubber has no work according to this definition.

000 cent was the value of rubber and pepper. The pasar was well established as an import-export center, and as the market center for exchange of produce and the acquisition of foodstuffs, hardware and valuables. On the following page in Figure 3 is presented a representative trade report for Sibu for 1921, listing the inventory of imports and exports. It is significant to note that locally-grown rice was insufficient for the needs of the community. As we have mentioned earlier, one of the present problems with which the agrarian population of Sibu is yet unable to cope is the production of enough rice to meet its own needs, let alone the demands of the urban population, so that most of the rice for the latter group must be imported from abroad.

Although a few buildings in Sibu were built of brick, the majority of shophouses was constructed of wood. In March, 1928, a disastrous fire broke out[37] and spread quickly through the timber structures. By the following day, the Sibu pasar was a pile of smouldering ashes. Aid was rushed in from Kuching and temporary housing arranged for the residents. Though property loss was considered grievous, there was only one known death which occurred when a man stepped through a weakened floor and was

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 176]

[37] According to a long time resident of Sibu, Mrs. J. B. Chong, the fire broke out in the evening from an unattended hearth, sweeping through one unit after another. A writer in the Gazette fixed the time of the fire at between one and four o'clock in the morning, and possibly due to the use of electrical appliances "intended to reduce the consumption of current" (SG No. 895, 2 April, 1928).

FIGURE 3

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Foreign Trade Returns
Sibu, 1921

IMPORTS

Aerated Water
Ammunition
Arrack, etc.
Biscuits
Biachan
Blankets
Brass & Copper Ware
Butter & Cheese
Candles
Cement
Cotton Cloth
Clothing
Coffee, Liberian
Cotton Seed
Crockery & G. ware
C. Stuffs & Sauce
Clocks & Watches
Damar
Drugs & Chemicals Acetic
    Acid
    Drugs
Eggs salted
Exports returned
Fire-arms
Fire-works
Fish
    Dried
    Salted
    In tins
Furniture
Grains
    Beans and Peas
    Rice
    Other sorts
Gunnies new
    do. old
Hams and Bacon
Hats
Iron-ware
Joss sticks and Papers
Jars
carried forward
Land
Lamps
Leather
Machinery
Mats
Matches
Macaroni & Vermicelli
Milk condensed
Motor boat
Oils, etc.
    Vegetable
    Lubricating
    Kerosine
    M. Spirit
Paint, Varnish & Tar
Paper
Provisions sundry
Prawn refuse
Rope
    Coir
    Manila
Salt
Soap
Stationery & Books
Sugar
Sundries
Tea in bundles
Twine and thread
Tobacco
    In tins, Cigars & Cigarettes
    Chinese
    P. Java & S'bok, etc.
Treasure
Vegetables
    Fresh
    Salted
    In tins
Wines and Spirits
Zinc

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FIGURE 3
(Cont'd)

EXPORTS

Bees-wax
Birds-nests
Camphor
Canes
Damar
Empties
Fish
do. fins
do. maws
Gutta & Rubber
Baru
Jangkar
Jelutong
do. refined
Dyera
Percha
Plantation
Hides & Skins
Imports returned
Leaf Gutta
Mats & baskets
N.H. Specimens
Pepper White
do. Black
Prawns (dried)
Rottan No. 1 Sega, etc.
do. No. 2 Temoi, etc.
Sago flour
Sundries
Timber
do manufactured

000 fatally burned by smouldering embers. The destruction of the pasar necessitated and permitted a new beginning, and within the year plans for new brick shophouses had been drawn up. By the mid-1930's, shophouses had been constructed between Channel and Blacksmith Roads from east to west, and from Custom to Cross Roads from south to north. Building was stopped during the Japanese occupation, but taken up again following the Second World War.

By 1947, the population of the Sibu Urban area had reached just 9,983 persons. Following a spurt of building after the War, many officials felt that the pasar had achieved its maximum growth. Writing on the situation in 1952, the Resident stated that;

> "the demand for shophouses (of which it would be reasonable to say there are sufficient in Sibu) increases rather than decreases. During February five shophouse lots realized over $98,000- this is an increase of $5,000 per lot on prices obtained at the end of 1951."

Again in 1958, an official stated emphatically that Sibu had come to the limits of its growth for, given the size of its population, the addition of more business would be ruinous.

That such dire predictions did not come true is a matter of historical record. The 1960 Census showed a three-fold increase over the population in 1947, or a total of 29,630 for the Sibu Urban area. At the same time, the size of the pasar and the number of businesses doubled, extending from Ramin Way and Central Road to Kampong Nyabor. Within the

000 past decade, the population has doubled again, and present estimates range from fifty thousand to seventy thousand residents. The sprawl of shophouses continues space along Lanang Road and in the Sungai Antu area.

A major hindrance to the development of Sibu's trade, which we mentioned earlier, was the problem of shipping. Sarawak has no coastal harbors and even at Miri, a petroleum center, ships must anchor almost two miles off shore to discharge and take on their cargoes. Sibu is seventy-two miles up the Rejang, a river which twists and turns, flowing past extensive sandbars in places. Where the Seredang joins the main stream between Sarikei and Binatang,

> "the bend is so sharp that a vessel of normal size must all but rear up and walk around upon its screw. Between Binatang and Sibu is the junction of the Leba'an at which vessels from down-river must pirouette like ballet dancers to avoid the sandbanks."

Exaggeration aside, ships frequently went aground on the sandbars at the junction of the Leba'an, occasionally being stranded for two or three days until the confluence of the tide and higher waters from up-river were enough to float them.

Thus, the discovery in 1961 of a deep-water passage into the Rejang through Kuala Paloh was of far-reaching significance. The passage permitted larger ocean-going vessels than previously had been able to call at Sibu. The reaction of some Government officials was euphoric. Continuing in the same vein as above, another officer wrote that,

000 "with the discovery in 1961 of the Paloh channel making it possible for 5,000 ton ships to visit Sibu now and with the prospect of 8,000 tonners coming eventually the whole future prospect of Sibu is changed. It is possible that in fifteen years time Sibu may be a thriving port serving an extensive hinterland from which agriculture and forest produce are exported."

The growth and development of Sibu as a trading center is due to a number of factors. We have described already the products upon [491] which trade has been built in the major periods of Sibu's history. Sibu's economy is inextricably bound to the hinterland, and an important development in the past decade or so has been the construction and extension of a road network, tying many of the rural communities to Sibu, and greatly facilitating transportation of persons and goods. Trips from some rural areas that previously took half-a-day can now be made by taxi or public bus in half-an-hour.

A majority of businesses in Sibu are small, family-owned and operated. Children participate in the business and in some cases take over management from their parents. Whenever possible and mutually desirable, members of the family are absorbed into the business. When this is not possible or not desirable, a family may back one or more members in the opening of a new shop, of the same type, if the volume of trade warrants expansion. In other cases, the family may diversify its activities by branching into new types of business.

At the higher level of the clan, members may consult with one another in consideration of the needs of their group in terms of

000 professional people. Upon agreement, funds are pooled, if necessary, for the education of the young person in his chosen profession. Thus, members of a clan are assured of having one of their own upon whom they can call when in need of a doctor, lawyer, architect or contractor.[38]

The proliferation of businesses in Sibu has resulted in a large number of small traders, more often than not replicating the goods and services of a dozen or more other businessmen. The investment in setting up a shop may be quite sizable, beyond the capacity of a new trader without backing from family or clan. For example, in one of the twenty odd shops selling radios and other electrical equipment, the owner estimated his original inventory at over M$25,000. In other shops, the goods may be valued at several times that amount. But, given the duplication in wares the small turnover, and the small profit,[39] it is doubtful that a number of the shops could survive without family backing during lean periods.

In addition to the attractions of profits to be made on local and imported products, and the importance of the kinship network that interlaces and supports many of the businesses in Sibu, another factor that has

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[38] This is not to imply that all clans succeed in or even want to place members in the professions, or, on the other hand, that young persons do not go into the professions by their own choice.

[39] A familiar and favorite expression of many traders when asked how their business goes is, Untong siket-siket ("a little profit").

OOO contributed to the emergence of Sibu as an entrepot has been the presence and investments of foreign-based companies and banks. With the growth of the pasar, branches of foreign import-export firms and banks were attracted by the promise of profit. Prior to the Second World War, the largest and most important of these was the Borneo Company Limited, an organization which long had been allied with and a supporter of the Brookes. "B.C.L." continues to be the largest such firm in Sibu, handling a vast range of imports and exports, as well as running a shipping line. It is unnecessary to list all other import-export businesses, suffice it to note that there are more than two dozen operating in Sibu, employing staffs from half-a-dozen to several score. These firms and the six banks of Sibu, through infusion of capital and the extension of credit at various times, have helped to see a number of businesses begun and through perilous financial problems.

Not all businesses succeed, and Government records list a number of bankruptcies which have occurred. Given the replication of small businesses, and the risks that many do in fact run of failure in the face of unrelenting competition, we may ask why does the pasar continue to grow and families spawn new shops? In reply to this question, one local trader replied,

> "What else can we do? We know nothing else. We have no land to go to where we can farm, and we wouldn't know how to farm if we had land. So, trading is our way of life."

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000 If we may speak of a mercantile mentality, this quite literally is the ethos of the business community of Sibu. A majority of ties within individual networks, both formal and informal, are based upon expectations of trade and exchange, profit and gain. Philanthropic activities and the patronage of various sporting events draws attention to the sponsors - as well as to the trades they represent.

177 439 441 Although Ibans and other indigenes have shared in Sibu's growth in ways already described, viz. through supplying jungle products, rubber, pepper, and labor, few of them have owned shophouses and run businesses in the pasar. Notable exceptions include Messrs. Unchat anak Chok and Jonathan Bangau, each of whom inherited a shophouse from his father.[40] Both men have appreciated a considerable and steady income from the rental of their shops. "Pasar Bangau" has been a point of reference among Ibans in giving directions in Sibu. Bangau also is involved in several business enterprises, including serving as chairman of the Glass Sand Company, Limited, which supplies sand for a Japanese firm, and has an authorized capital of one million Malaysian dollars.

441 177 183 369 Of more immediate affect upon the Iban community has been the dissemination of those values concomitant with the mercantile mentality

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[40] Chok, the late father of Unchat, was a close friend of the father of Mr. Wong Soon Kai, a distinguished Sibu surgeon, and was advised in his investments by the elder Wong. It is significant that the fathers of Unchat and Bangau were among those Iban who refused to cut their rubber trees when the conflict between traditional rice cultivation and the new rubber planting gave rise to the story of rubber eating rice (cf. page 27).

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18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

of the business community of Sibu. Acceptance of the values of cash-income, profits and saving has motivated hundreds of Ibans to forsake home and farm for town and salary. Although many are wage-earners, few indeed have been able to penetrate the tightly woven fabric of the Foochow-dominated business world, and it appears doubtful that many will for some time to come. The only apparent break-through has been in retailing fruit, vegetables and, occasionally, poultry in the Iban market or in some other unoccupied public space, appreciating by the direct sale a much better return than by selling their goods to a Chinese middle-man.[41]

In the rural area, scores of Iban traders have emerged in the past two decades, running shophouses near their longhouse communities. In some instances, these are new businesses where none previously has existed. In other cases, business which formerly was handled by a Chinese trader has been taken over by Iban shopkeepers. For example, in 1971, a Chinese shopkeeper in the Ulu Salim Kiba area was forced to close his business when he could not collect outstanding debts. Upon his closing, all of his business fell to two Iban shopkeepers at Rumah Imba and Rumah Nyelang.

D. Services, Education, Recruitment and Recreation

The growth of Sibu as an administrative center and an entrepot was accompanied by the development of a number of other functions which

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[41] Middlemen and hawkers commonly pay Chinese gardeners and Ibans about one-half of the retail price for vegetables and fruit.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

177 have become increasingly important to residents and attractions to people in rural areas. We turn now to consider these functions and their relative significance to the people of the Sibu District and beyond.

1. Medical Services

164 Although the Rejang Valley cannot be called an inordinately unhealthy area, neither can it be described as disease free. For, while a number of formerly serious diseases have been brought largely under control, other health problems continue to plague residents and officials.

Early reports indicate that periodic outbreaks of smallpox (puru), typhoid (sakit angat), malaria (chelap angat) and cholera (muang ai') [657] occurred. Immunization and the eradication of the anopheles mosquito has helped to bring these diseases under control, though isolated cases still are found.

Respiratory diseases, the most serious of which is tuberculosis (batok rangkai), are common, there being little understanding of the [657] etiology of the diseases among the general public. The development of a chest clinic, construction of a tuberculosis ward, and implementation of a program of immunization among school children has helped to reduce the incidence of tuberculosis and the number of fatalities due to the illness.

Health problems resulting from an impure water supply continue to plague many rural residents,[42] and water-borne diseases such as gastro-

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[42] According to an official of the Sibu Water Board, the urban water supply repeatedly has been tested by the World Health Organization and given the highest rating for purity.

164 enteritis (chirit) are common. According to several local doctors,
[165] gastroenterities is the main cause of deaths among infants, especially of Ibans and others in remote areas, from where they are brought in for treatment in such a dehydrated state that they are beyond help.

Other intestinal disorders such as diarrhea (chirit) and dysentery (bira' ka darah) are common. Worms (lundong) and other parasites contribute to a number of disorders, including distention of the abdomen, anemia, and a generally weakened condition in the hosts, and the incidence of parasitic infection in the indigenous population is virtually universal.

[165] Tetanus (tegamggam) continues to be a major cause of death in
[844] many more remote Iban communities, resulting from a ritual cutting of the umbilical cord with an unsterilized bamboo silver and then smearing the end of the cord with ashes.

Leprosy (sakit lan) was the other major disease that was greatly feared by the local population, bearers being ostracized. Those who contract leprosy are sent to Kuching where a modern, well-equipped leprasarium has been constructed.

175 Because of these and a score of other diseases, as well as various
657 forms of mental illness, attention has been given to treatment and pre-
177 vention as funds and personnel have been available. In 1902, a clinic
[178] and dispensary was built near Fort Brooke with a dresser in charge. This was expanded into a small hospital but the response of Chinese and

175 177 657 [178] indigenes was slight, each group preferring traditional medical practices. Thus, for example, a total of 1,744 patients were treated in the Sibu Hospital.

In 1931, on the eve of his return to China, a prominent Chinese from Engkilo, Lau King Howe, contributed one-half of the cost of a new hospital which still bears his name. The hospital has been expanded and now contains ten wards. Exposure to the work of doctors and nurses in the hospital has evoked an ever-increasing response from all groups. During the last year for which figures are available, a total of 106,520 patients were treated in the Hospital as indicated in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Number of Patients Treated
Lau King Howe Hospital
1970

Ethnic Group	Number	New Cases	Follow-ups	Admissions
Chinese	40,243	46,050	54,404	6,066
Iban	34,237			
Malay	32,040			
Total	106,520	Total of All Cases		106,520

177 758 In addition to the Government Hospital, eight private doctors practice in the pasar. Although these doctors in contrast to the socialized medicine of the hospital, charge for their services and medicines dispensed, they are frequented by hundreds of patients daily. The

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TABLE 13

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Sibu Family Planning Clinic Attendance
1964-1970

New

Year	Chinese	Malay	Iban	Others	Total
1964	296	121	41	11	369
1965	742	98	143	14	997
1966	637	57	235	27	956
1967	612	40	307	27	986
1968	488	68	518	13	1,087
1969	382	89	477	16	964
1970	338	67	374	10	789
64-70	3,495	440	2,095	118	6,148

Repeat

Year	Chinese	Malay	Iban	Others	Total
1964	242	30	32	9	313
1965	2,651	380	449	44	3,524
1966	3,770	545	987	118	5,420
1967	5,335	713	1,838	209	8,905
1968	6,446	972	3,307	217	10,942
1969	5,941	1,454	4,474	149	12,018
1970	5,163	1,710	6,062	94	13,029
64-70	29,548	5,804	17,149	840	53,341

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177 proportion of patients who frequent private practitioners is virtually
758 the same as the figures above, that is overall 38 per cent are Chinese, 32 per cent Iban, and 30 per cent Malay. It is not uncommon for some Ibans to solicit treatment both in the Government Hospital and from a private doctor in the same morning, particularly if the personnel in the
[789] former institution refuses to give an injection (bajik). So deep is the faith of many Ibans in the magic of needle, that on occasion they will go to two doctors on the same day, not telling the second that they have been treated by the other.

In 1955, a maternity clinic providing ante-natal and post-natal care for mothers and infants was begun. A majority of women receiving help are Chinese, but an increasing number of Iban women are availing themselves of the services the clinic offers.

Another medical service which has grown in importance to the population is the Family Planning Clinic. Begun in 1963, the clinic deals with almost 15,000 women annually. Iban response at first slow due to a lack of understanding of the work of the clinic, but in 1970, Ibans were the largest single ethnic group visiting the clinic.

2. Welfare Agencies

177 Since the Second World War, a number of welfare agencies have been founded in Sibu.[43] The functions of many of these agencies are new

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[113] [43] For a discussion of welfare agencies in Sarawak, see The Sarawak Gazette No. 1268, 31 October, 1963, pp. 253-261.

177 and but little understood by the Iban community, and as yet are culturally unacceptable to them. For example, in the two homes for the aged at Salim and Bukit Lima, only two of the seventy-three inmates are Iban, [888] the remainder being Chinese. Asked about placing old people in the homes, one Iban man said that it was unthinkable, for as long as they were able they would care for their own. Thus, as in the case of a number of the voluntary associations, the practice, if not the declared policy, of a number of the welfare agencies is "care for our own."

657 By far, the most important agency to the Ibans is the Welfare Department which, in 1971 provided rice to residents in about one-half of the longhouses in the Sibu District. The amount of rice granted to each family was relatively small, on the average enough for two weeks, but the expectation born in the grants has been enormous. One Government official reported that recipients are told that the grant is given but once, but they anticipate such a grant annually. Because of a rice shortage due to a number of factors, including unseasonable rains and flooding, more Ibans are applying for food supplies, the cost of which is estimated by Government to be about M$150,000 in the Third Division.

3. Education

000 The first schools in the area of Sibu were privately supported and run by Chinese settlers. There is mention of a small school that had been established by the Hokkien traders by the turn of the century,

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000 and within one year of their arrival in Sarawak, the Foochow immigrants had started a school at Sungai Seduan. When Wong Nai Siong established the Foochow shophouses on what now is Channel Road, the school was moved to that site.

[658] Between 1904 and 1911, the Second Rajah's Government provided funds for the starting of a number of small schools in the outstations.

[797] Although Charles Brooke favored a limited education system for selected Ibans, he never implemented his ideas, and what education was provided for them was entirely in mission schools.

175 871 797 The first attempt at education among Ibans of the Sibu District was made by a Methodist missionary, Charles Davis, at Bukit Lan in 1915. His students were from Bawang Assan, and Davis drew up his own syllabus as well as writing all his materials. The school was short-lived, however, for Davis left Sarawak in 1916.

175 871 658 Education remained an almost entirely pasar activity until 1928 when the late Pengulu Nibong requested Government aid for beginning a school at Bawang Assan. It is not surprising that the first request from an Iban community of this District for a school should have been from Bawang Assan, given the exposure that the perceptive community leaders had had to be potential benefits of education through European officers and Chinese.

Other Iban communities were much slower in establishing schools, and when the Sungai Aup school was started in 1949, it was only the fourth

175 Local Authority Iban school in the District. The attitude of many Ibans
891 was, "We didn't go to school, and we can make a living. Why send our
658 children to school?" As noted elsewhere, the Rajahs' fear that western-style education would destroy the "genius of Iban culture" led the Government to restrict Iban education to Standard Seven.

Following the Cession of Sarawak in 1946, the Colonial Government was pressed for educated staff and attainment even of Primary Four qualified many Ibans for teachers' training and employment. Those students who passed the Common Entrance Examination (Primary Six) went on to Secondary Schools, all of which at that time were located in the [464] main pasars. The more prestigious ones were in Sibu and Kuching, and students who passed the Sarawak Junior Examination (Form Three) and Senior Cambridge Examination (Form Five) were assured employment either with Government or companies.

By the mid-1950's, the relationship between education and employment had been perceived by many Iban parents, and the rush was on for schools. By 1958, schools had been built in sixteen Iban communities,
877 and as many more were clamoring for them. Similarly in the pasars, it soon
175 became apparent that the Government Aided Schools could not handle the increasing numbers of students wanting to attend secondary school, and demands were made for permission to open private, unaided secondary

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891 schools.[44] By 1962, five unaided secondary schools had been started in
175 Sibu, taking students who did not pass the Common Entrance Examination.
658 Commenting on the situation, the District Officer in his report wrote that,

> "it is important that education should be related to the needs of the community in future. Regrettably but understandably this is proving as difficult in Sibu as everywhere else in the world owing to the universal preference for academic education leading to white collar jobs."

871 The equation of education and employment has been held tenaciously
464 by many parents, who have sacrificially paid as much as fifty to sixty dollars a month, in anticipation of future rewards through their children's employment. Those children who have been selected, that is, passed the Common Entrance Examination, and attended aided secondary schools until recently have had by far a better opportunity for passing the higher level examinations.[45] In response to a questionnaire mailed to all of the Iban students who had studied in aided secondary schools in the Sibu pasar between 1960 and 1970, of the 143 who returned the forms, all either are

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[44] These schools have been of widely varying qualities, and while some have provided a sound education others, in the words of one former official, have been nothing more than "money factories," enriching the investors and managers at the expense of parents and children.

[45] This generalization no longer is valid, for the results of some private secondary schools have been better than those of aided schools for the past two years.

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871 464 employed or are spouses of wage-earners. The results and employment opportunities for students in unaided schools have tended to be generally more disappointing both to the youngsters and to their parents. At the same time, none of the 143 respondents has returned to take up residence in his longhouse, whereas a majority of the latter group has had to for lack of employment. With the increase of students, however, many with a Division II Pass in the Sarawak Junior, who formerly would have been able to obtain employment, no longer are able to do so.[46]

871 177 369 The effects of education on Iban have been varied but far-reaching. Education has helped to re-inforce the changing value system from "the good life of padiculture" to the fast buck by offering a means to its attainment. The location of all secondary schools initially in urban centers meant a radical disorientation of young people to their culture and disengagement from their society, so that they have been either unable or refused to re-enter the longhouse community. In an analysis of the effects of education on Iban society, an officer of the Education Department wrote that,

> "the basic weakness of Iban education is that it is regarded by parents, children, teachers and all concerned, not as preparation for life in an Iban community, but as a means of escaping it. . . The educated are lost forever to their longhouses. . .

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[46] For a discussion of problems of school-leavers and unemployment see Schaeffer's paper in Appendix A.

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> The gap between schoolhouse and longhouse yawns ever wider; the situation was well epitomized by a certain teacher's crushing rebuke of a bad boy. . ., 'You are good for nothing but to be a farmer'."

It is small wonder that, given the expectations of parents and students, and the changes of values introduced and re-inforced through modern education, relatively highly educated young people return to the [657] longhouse communities for visits, but not live. And, despite Government's policy and urging them "back-to-the-country," young Ibans increasingly are going to seek new ways of living in the urban areas.

4. Recruitment

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[175] From the late nineteenth century onward, Ibans from the Sibu District and other areas travelled in search of work and adventure not only within Sarawak but as far afield as New Ginea. In an account of his wanderings, Tuba Aki Polly of Bawang Assan has recounted how he signed on with a company for work in Malacca and, upon completion of that contract (sain, "sign"), signed on with another company and worked for one year in New Guinea.

464 Not all Ibans are so adventurous, not inclined to wander so far in search of work,[47] and the growth of Sibu has permitted many more to find employment and adventure closer to home. We have noted already in

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[47] Several Iban men with whom I have talked expressed a desire to move away from their home areas and into the Sibu pasar, but said that they were afraid to, because they were uneducated and unskilled.

464 this chapter the pattern which was established by the second decade of this century of unemployed persons coming into the pasar to seek work. The number of Ibans who came in during the first half-century was re- [198] latively small because there were few opportunities open to them. With the development of Sibu during the past twenty-five years, however, and the proliferation of schools near longhouse communities, more and more Ibans are seeking employment in or through the pasar.

198 According to the 1960 Census, 96 per cent of all economically 243 active Iban males and 99 per cent of all economically active females 463 were engaged in rice cultivation. Table 14 presents the other categories in which Ibans were working at that time. Regrettably, data are not yet available from the 1970 Census to indicate shifts in employment categories, but upon the basis of a survey conducted in connection with this study and upon the author's impression, it is most likely that the number and percentage of persons employed in non-agricultural categories has increased significantly.

162 The Iban population of Sibu fluctuates considerably as members of 464 the society move in and out of the pasar. This makes the task of ascer- 369 taining the number of Ibans who may be termed permanent residents of the urban area difficult if not impossible, by admission of an official of the Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur, and of the Urban District Council. However, the importance of Sibu as a recruitment center has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196]

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TABLE 14

Economically Active Ibans 1960

Males

Industry (See Code below)	Total	Employer	Employee	Own Account Worker	Family Worker
1.	64,083	119	3,462	40,539	19,963
2.	61,543	82	1,189	40,335	19,937
3.	309	1	308	-	-
4.	342	2	312	24	4
5.	179	-	178	1	-
6.	17	-	17	-	-
7.	268	34	44	171	19
8.	55	-	49	6	-
9.	1,370	-	1,365	2	3

Females

1.	58,618	8	559	3,863	54,188
2.	58,293	8	335	3,847	54,103
3.	1	-	1	-	-
4.	22	-	6	1	15
5.	-	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	-	-	-
7.	84	-	4	11	69
8.	3	-	3	-	-
9.	215	-	210	4	1

1. All Industries
2. Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing
3. Mining and Quarrying
4. Manufacturing
5. Building and Construction
6. Electricity and Water Supply and Sanitary Services
7. Commerce
8. Transportation and Communication
9. Services

prompted a considerable number of Ibans to seek employment in the pasar, so that while the Iban population in the urban area was 693 persons in 1960, it is my estimate that presently the number is about four or five times that figure, or approximately 3,000.

On the basis of a survey conducted in 1970, of 200 Iban residents in the urban area, 171 were employed and the other 29 were housewives. The 171 persons were employed in some 35 different categories, as indicated in Table 15. Thus, another important function in the development of Sibu as an urban center has been the recruitment of men and women for work either in Sibu or other areas.

One final note must be made about the young Iban women who are listed under the categories of waitresses, bar-girls and "self-employed females." A number of these women engage in what may be described as moonlighting activities because of the attractive rewards. Some of the women are recruited by agents (beroka) from Sibu, others are encouraged by women already in the pasar, while still others are enlisted by male companions. Given the casual attitude of many Ibans towards sex and the position of relative equality which women enjoy in the society, together with the less economically rewarding activities in the longhouse, it is not surprising that several score young Iban women, as well as some members of other ethnic groups, have taken up residence in the urban area.

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TABLE 15

A Sample of Economically Active Ibans
Sibu, 1970

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CATEGORY	NUMBER	
	Employed	Self-employed
Government:		
Cooperative Officers	2	
Medical Doctors	2	
Lab Technicians	2	
Other Medical Work	11	
District Officer	1	
Prison Warden	1	
Public Works	3	
Teachers/Education	4	
Agriculture	4	
Telecommunications	1	
Customs	1	
Police, Rangers*	29	
Overseas Survey	1	
Civil Defense	1	
Councils:		
Secretary	1	
Clerk	1	
Midwife	1	
Political Parties:	4	
Banks, Trades, Companies:		
Office Boys	2	
Import-Export Clerk	1	
Construction Laborers	20	
Waitresses, Bar Girls	11	
Piling Operators	3	
Theaters	3	
Brickworks Laborer	1	
Electricity Company	1	
Custodians	3	
Water Board	2	
Cooks, Maids	5	
Females, "Self-employed"		10**
Trishaw Drivers		5
Church:		
Literature Production	2	
Ministers	8	
Gardeners	4	
	156	15

*Does not include Field Force of whom there are an estimated 1,000 and their families.

**Prostitutes.

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5. Recreation

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> "Why did I move to Sibu?" answered the young man. "It's more exciting (rami agi'), there are more people, you can meet your friends and do more here than in the longhouse."

From the beginning of this century, Sibu has held an attraction for the Ibans as a recreation center, where games were held "much to the appreciation of the Natives" (SG No. 410, 1900:53). The invitation of Ibans to sporting activities on Boxing Day and New Year's met with a great response, so that a later writer described the numbers who came as "a Dayak invasion" (cf. Appendix A).

A highlight for both rural and urban residents was the regatta held every year or so, which permitted hordes of Ibans and other indigenes to participate in boat races while enjoying the food, drinks, lights and crowds of the pasar. The termination of the regattas has by no means deterred rural visitors from enjoying the other pleasures which Sibu has to offer.

The pasar boasts five movie theaters all of which do a good business, owing to the lack of other forms of entertainment for many people. The movies shown are an important means of disseminating new ideas and values. By far, the most popular movies to the Ibans are the Hindustani films, followed by war-stories and action cowboy stories.

The mere pleasure of meeting friends and having a drink or a meal in a coffee shop is probably the attraction that draws most Ibans

369 who come to Sibu "just to visit themselves" (sigi' ka' ngalu diri').
177 From early morning until closing time, the coffee shops along Channel Road in particular but in other areas as well, do a brisk trade with an Iban clientele.

[657] All forms of gambling, from the Social Welfare Department's backed numbers game of Toto to a small game of cards, are popular among Ibans as well as others. Cockfighting probably attracts more Iban and Chinese men than does any other single form of gambling. Men stake their roosters out on traffic islands, carry them under their arms as they bicycle through town, preen their feathers, and sneak in an illegal cockfight (nyabong churi) whenever they think the heads of the police are turned the other way. On Sundays and holidays, cockfights are arranged by the purchase of a license from the District Office[48] at the Tenth Mile Oya Road, Durin Pasar, or at Oya, with men attending from as far away as Miri and Kuching.

Although by the judgment of many persons, Sibu is limited in recreational activities, still it holds a high attraction for Ibans of this District and beyond who are looking for diversion and play.

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[622] [48] In an interesting case of economic cooperation, Iban tuai rumah in the areas where cockfights are held purchase the license in turn, one tuai rumah one week, another the next, and so on until all have had a turn. The license holder and his helpers receive a part of the gate and all bets placed on the day of the fights for which he holds the license.

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In summary, the growth and development of Sibu as an urban center for administration, trade, education, recruitment and recreation has profoundly affected not only the lives of the predominantly Chinese immigrant population but also those of the Ibans as well. Paying taxes, competing in business, seeking positions for their children in school, looking for work and coming to the pasar for a good time, the Ibans have through accommodation and acculturation experienced important changes in their social organization and culture as we shall discuss in Part II.

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IBAN ADAPTATION

182 The Ibans' adaptation to their habitat has included a number of different activities and responses. These have been expressed in the techniques and rituals which they have used to acquire the food and other goods which they have deemed necessary for their living, and in the ways in which they have organized themselves to make meaningful the responses they have made to both their physical habitat and their cultural environments.

243 Traditionally, the Ibans' quest for food has been divided among
[188] a number of different activities, the most important being rice horti-
culture. As we discuss in some detail in this chapter, rice cultivation
[177] is a highly ritualized activity with symbols which are interrelated with a number of other highly valued practices. As with numerous other peoples, rice cultivation is not merely a technique of acquisition but a way of life that is supported by and in turn supports Iban theology, cosmology and eschatology. We will consider in a later chapter on Iban culture the basic value of self-sufficiency, by which members of the society are scaled in the class system.

243 Less than forty per cent of Iban cultivators are self-sufficient
[162] in rice, and must supplement their farming with other means of obtaining their food supply.

243 their food supply. Gathering of jungle produce is still a relatively
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3/4 important work by which fruits, chicle, fibers and a number of other items are brought to market and sold. The collection of vegetable leaves, shoots and cabbages of a number of different palms provides the principal supplements to the staple of rice. And when rice runs out and there is no money to buy more, the much-disliked scarcity food, sago, can be collected and processed.

226 Fishing is both a leisure activity and a means for catching the most regular and dependable supply of meat in the Iban diet. The Ibans are most adapt at exploiting the rivers and streams along which they live, their techniques depending upon the conditions of the water, the habits of the fish and other aquatic life, and whether they intend to consume the catch personally or to sell it to members of their long-house or in the market. The introduction of fish-ponds has provided a much more dependable source of meat.

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244 Hunting provides a diversion from other activities, but game is not plentiful in this District. Gardening is assuming more importance among a number of Ibans, but the inclination is to plant cash crops rather than vegetables for personal consumption.

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437 The uncertainty of returns from rice cultivation, together with the orientation of Ibans to a cash economy and to goods which can be purchased with money, has prompted members of every longhouse to seek employment.

464 employment. In the opinion of many young people, there is no future for them in the longhouse, and in the minds of older members of the society, cash income is synonymous with work (kerja). Of the population of Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, fifty-five of the members are wage-earners, either commuting daily into Sibu, or away for months or even years at their jobs. Of the aggregation of seven longhouses in Bawang Assan below Sibu, more than three hundred of the community members are salaried.

183 Classification of the Iban as a people of a subsistence economy is dubious. For they have been a people who have maintained a cultural norm of achievement through production and in predation. As in many other societies, some members have achieved according to the ideal, others have fallen short.

177 The contacts over the past century with members of ethnic groups, especially Chinese and Malays, have been influential in effecting changes in traditional Iban adaptation. Further, the growth of the pasar as a center of administrative, commercial, service and recreational activities has resulted in a new orientation and new expectations among the Iban.

[182] The Ibans of this District no longer can be categorized in their adaptation as "rice cultivators," for they have responded to the numbers of opportunities in almost as many ways, so that the economic organization of the Ibans is already highly diversified and promises to be increasingly more so.

A. Rice Horticulture

The Ibans who moved into the Sibu District during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were shifting cultivators. The main characteristics of shifting cultivation are,

> "rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labour only; employment of the dibble stick. . . ; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods."

As already discussed in Chapter Two, the movements of the Ibans into the area were due to a number of factors, one being the growth of the population in the Second Division, another the Iban value of new land and the status accorded the pioneer, a cultural reinforcement of an adaptive mechanism.

The horticulture of the Ibans did not involve rotation of fields so much as the gradual extension of their farms down the Sarikei and Kanowit, and their tributaries, and on across the Rejang and up the northern branches of tributaries of the Rejang and Igan. As one Tuai Rumah related,

> "We moved from Julau to Nanga Salim, thence we farmed both sides of the river, moving to uncleared and unclaimed areas and finally came to Ulu Salim."

The settlements of the Ibans who moved into the District were by no means as permanent as they are today. Rather, temporary houses were constructed in proximity to land selected for farming, and abandoned when the Ibans moved to new sites. As two women recounted the story of

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361 the settlement of Bawang Assan, they described the frequency of the movements that took place prior to the final settlements.

> "We moved first to Bukit Lan, but the Rajah wouldn't let us grow rubber,[1] so we had to break up our longhouse and move to Bukit Pantu where we lived in individual dwellings (langkau). From there we moved across the Leba'an to Sungai Jabai, then to Sungai Bilat, back to Tembawai Nyiur,[2] to Tembawai Pungkang[3] and finally to Nanga Bawang Assan. Only then did we build a permanent longhouse. That's the reason why we have many temuda'" ("previous farming sites").

243 178 Unlike the Ibans of the Sut and other new areas, who cultivate hill rice as described by Freeman (1955), those in the Sibu District mainly farm wet or swamp rice (padi paya'). The juxtaposition of several factors combined in the shift of the Ibans from the cultivation of hill to wet rice. The first and most obvious is the different lie of the land in the Rejang delta, where the relatively recent deposits of alluvial soils are flat, giving way only occasionally to hills and these generally at a [77] distance of several miles from the river banks. A second factor was the introduction of rubber and the Ibans' development of rubber gardens.

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[657] [829] [1]The Second Rajah's assignment of land for twelve miles below Sibu on either side of the Rejang has been rationalized in several different ways by the Ibans who were forced to move, this being one.

[103] [2]So named because of three coconut trees that still grow there.

[823] [3]The Ibans considered this site "hot" (sangat) and unlucky because of an unusual number of illnesses and deaths, for which they had to abandon their houses (pungkang, "empty").

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As already described, the investment of energy, time and other resources into the gardens required a degree of sedentariness. A third factor as we have seen was the coming of the Chinese whose settlements and land grants precluded the continuous and free expansion of the Ibans into ever new lands. A fourth factor which has become important only within the last decade has been the rice schemes ("Assistance to Wet-Padi Planters"), in which aid in the form of seed, fertilizers, insecticides and advice have been given by the Agriculture Department to participants in the skim perintah ("Government schemes"). A fifth factor about which more will be said later is the greater yields to be appreciated from wet rice. [illegible] Assistant Agricultural Officer for the Department in the Third Division estimates the yield per acre of hill rice to be four piculs, whereas the yield per acre of wet rice is on an average six to eight piculs, with schemes yielding as much as 16 piculs per acre.[4]

1. Rice is Life

Iban rice cultivation has been highly elaborated into a complex system of beliefs and practices. For, as Freeman has written,

> "To the Iban, the growing of padi is a ritual undertaking, and their whole system of agriculture is based on an elaborate fertility cult. . . The vast majority of the Iban people are still 'pagan', but they are, nonetheless, an extremely religious people, and ritual pervades every aspect of their lives."

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[4] Letter from Assistant Agricultural Officer, 4 May, 1971.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

243 771 [774] The basic premise upon which the elaborate rituals observed in connection with rice cultivation are founded is that rice, as well as all other objects, has a soul (semengat), or is enlivened through the soul of the ancestors.[5] For the Iban, life begins and ends with rice, and the strong orientation of many features of Iban life to its cultivation and attendant rituals warrant our describing Iban adaptation as a "padiculture." Rice farming is not merely an economic activity, but rather a way of life, with rice as alpha and omega.

262 To take nourishment means to eat rice, and the first food the infant tastes after his mother's milk (or, presently, Lactogen), is [511] bubur ("rice gruel"). In adult life, there is no more certain standard for the good life than never to be short of rice (enda' kala' pungkang 795 padi). Completing the cycle of existence, the soul of the dead Iban, having been ritually advised[6] that it is dead, crosses Batang Titi Rawan ("The Bridge Whose Crossing Makes Anxious") to Sebayan (lit., "The

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[5] ". . .The whole of the ritual. . .is founded on the simple conception of the rice as animated by a soul like that which these people attribute to mankind. They expalin the phenomena of reproduction, growth, decay and death in the rice on the same principles on which they explain the corresponding phenomena in human beings. They imagine that in the fibres of the plant, as in the body of a man, there is a certain vital element, which is so far independent of the plant that it may for a time be completely separated from it without fatal effects, though if its absence be prolonged beyond certain limits the plant will wither and die. This vital yet separable element is what, for the want of a better word, we must call the soul of a plant. . .and on this theory or myth of the plant-soul is built the whole worship of cereals. . ." (Frazer 1922:413-4).

[6] In the ritual, "Separation of the Wilted Flower" (Serara' Bungai Layus), the manang ceremonially informs the soul that it is dead and must depart from the family.

Opposite").[7] After a stay in Sebayan, highlighted by eating, drinking and revelling with members of the opposite sex to the heart's content, the soul then proceeds on a journey through several river networks, the most important being Mandai Mati ("Death"), Mandai Awai ("Suffering"), and, finally to Mandai Jenoh ("Peace") where the soul is changed into padi-nourishing dew, the fitting end for the Iban life.

Further, not all rice is equally valuable. Each bilik possesses padi pun or a special strain of rice ritually defined as sacred rice.[8] The planting of the padi pun takes priority over the planting of any other strain, in planting wet rice as well as hill rice.[9] Although some degree of the reverence shown the padi pun as described by Freeman (1955: 154-155) still exists among the Ibans in the Sibu District, yet they are much more casual in their handling and treatment of it than the Sut Ibans.

Distinctions between Iban rice and other varieties are frequently pointed out, in favor of the former. Kami enda' kala' makai berau China ("We never ate Chinese rice"), boasted Embuas anak Imba, a notoriously successful farmer. On the inferior qualities of non-Iban rice, Indai

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[7] Afterworld, where all is exactly reversed from this life.

[8] Any of the more than three dozen sub-species of rice can be claimed as padi pun, depending upon each family's lore.

[9] Among the more than 20,000 Ibans who have become Christians this ritual is accompanied with a planting of a wooden cross as well.

186 Anyau said, Mula ia aku makai berau China asai ka mutah ("The first time
243 I ate Chinese rice, I felt like vomiting"). The man who is lucky enough
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[829] to grow enough rice so that he never is without and never has to buy is clearly considered a cut above the man who is not so successful.

243 That rice farming is not merely an economic activity but also
183 a ritual of powerful tradition is abundantly apparent in the cases of men and women who farm at a loss, not because they have to, but because it "is the way of our ancestors" (endang jalai aki ini kami bansa Iban). Umbing owns a wooden, Chinese carpenter-built house at the Tenth Mile Oya Road. In 1969-70, he returned to the area of his longhouse at Sungai Pa to grow rice, even though he is largely self-sufficient in terms of his needs. According to reckoning of the expenses he put out in travel, seed, labor and fertilizer, and the rice he harvested, he lost an estimated M$50 on the farming venture. Asked why he farmed at a loss, when otherwise he is an astute businessman, Umbing's answer was essentially that given above, and repeated by many Ibans: Endang jalai pengidup kami bansa Iban.

2. The Farming Year

243 The beginning of the farming year is set by the annual meeting
621 called by the tuai rumah of all the tuai bilik in his house, for the
[221] purpose of discussing where each family will farm during the next year. This permits the families involved to state where they will farm, and to

243 621 [423] avoid possible conflicts due to overlapping claims to the same ancestral lands. Further, if a member of the house who has moved away to another longhouse because of marriage (nguai), or for some other reason has been away, wants to activate his rights to farm land claimed by his natal [427] bilik, he may do so at that time. Although renting land is not common, it does occur and a token fee of one pasu of padi per acre is charged cf. Freeman 1955:147-8).

243 796 [221] The annual meeting is held at about the end of April, after the previous year's crop has been brought to the house and stored. At that meeting, the date for the Gawai Batu ("Festival of the Whetstone") is set, and the members of the community begin preparations (nengkira) by cooking tuak ("rice wine"), collection and purchase of food, and the inviting of guests. The purpose of the Gawai Batu is to assure a good harvest in the new year.

[412] A ritual center (pandong) is made on each family's ruai, with the whetstone (batu ansah), tools to be used in farming such as weeding knives (ilok), knives (duku'), hoes (changkul), sickles (pitu'), and axes (kapak), together with baskets of seed (benih), wrapped in a woven blanket (pua' kumbu').

243 621 796 At the meeting held to plan the gawai, each tuai bilik states which guests his family will invite. Generally, all members of nearby houses will be invited, while only a few selected friends from more distant houses will be asked to attend. However, if members of the house

243 have moved from a distant area where many kinsmen remain, many or all
796 from a distant longhouse may be invited. The rationale for inviting all
621 members of a house is stated, Kami sapemakai ("We are food-sharers"), a ceremonial collectivity. Selected friends are invited to ngabas ungkup (lit., "to check up on our share," i.e., to maintain ties of social obligations).

243 On the day of the gawai, guests who come from other houses bathe
796 and dress before being received at the foot of the ladder by a male
[515] host bearing a flag. He leads them up into the longhouse at one end and, to the accompaniment of gongs, the guests are received by women with liquid refreshments on each ruai: tuak, arak ("a home distilled liquor"), commercial whiskey, brandy and beer. The female guests drop out of the line as ' enter into their hostess' bilik. After the men have travelled the length of the house (niti rumah), they are seated on their hosts' ruai next to the outer wall (datas, "the highest place").

When they have been seated, three acts are performed to insure the success of the gawai and, in turn, the success of the new farming
[787] year. First, guests are told that if they have observed any omen bird, snake or other inauspicious sign while coming to the gawai, to disregard it as an offering will be made to appease it. Second, a cock is waved over the heads of the guests by a male host (miau enggau manok) and a blessing pronounced on them. After the cock has been killed, each person's forehead is touched with a feather dipped in the blood. Third,

243 796 the ruai rumah present and other respected men give a word of admonition to the men on each ruai, telling them to put away any hard feelings for no trouble will be tolerated during the gawai, lest it incur the disfavor of the gods.

243 533 796 Two other activities of moment in connection with the new farming year are "The Song to the Seed" and "The Prayer to Pulang Gana," the god of fertility. "The Song to the Seed" (Nimang Benih) is performed by lemambang ("bards") who sing the praise of the rice seed and adjure it to be fruitful and give life to those who place their trust in it. The lemambang are men with prodigious memories and great skill in the innovation of verse and song, who are employed, nowadays for cash[10] either individually or in teams for major ritual events. Some lemambang are more skilled in one type of song or more suited for one form of gawai 243 than another, and are recruited accordingly. In the Gawai Batu, the 796 782 lemambang begin to nimang benih in the evening and continue until four or five o'clock in the morning when the Sampi ka Pulang Gana ("The Prayer to 243 Pulang Gana) is made, as he and his entourage of gods arrive. The words 782 of the prayer beseech the gods for a good yield: 539

> "I command, I call, you Pulang Gana, Anda Mara,
> God of our grandparents, God of our parents!
> Visit altogether, advance altogether.
> Therefore, I bow, I make obeisance to you
> with offerings.

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[435] [10]The going rate is an average of ten dollars plus travel expenses for the individual lemambang for a Gawai Batu.

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For that reason, let the gods from the earth arise,
from the rich soil lift up their waists.
Let those from the skies lift up their necks.

Bring cakes, medicine, magical stones and boar's
tusks to shape the land and make it fertile.

Therefore, bring the stone of inexhaustibility to
use in storing and change scarcity into surplus.
Therefore, bring the rice stone to use in worshipping
the incoming tides.

That we may farm without weariness, cut the under-
growth and find magical rice.

That we may head-hunt with no feeling of fatigue,
receiving strength to fish with derris and strike
the head of the rice-fish.[11]

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The Gawai Batu is climaxed with an act of hepatomancy, in which a ritually prepared pig, whose bristles have been combed (nyugu babi) is

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[11] Text of Sampi ka Pulang Gana:
Aku masau, aku ngangau, kita Pulang Gana, Anda Mara,
Petara aki, Petara ini, Petara apai, Petara indai!
Bela ngabang, bela mansang.
Nya alai, aku nundok, aku ngensurok, nunggah ading
enggau piring.

Nya alai, petara ari tanah nyau ngangkat punggong,
ari tanah nyugah angkat punggong.
Nya ari langit angkat rekong.

Mai patat, mai ubat, mai batu teruba tumu, mai taring
teruba menching, mai tandok teruba ngempok.

Nya alai, batu jedian bai kena besimpan, mali langkang.
Nya alai, batu asi bai olih nyembah remi ai pasang.
Ngambi kami bumai enda berasai bumai, ngerembang babas
repa tetemu kuyan peta padi.
Kami ngayau enda berasai ngayaul, bulih leka balang
penguji ngambika kami nubai enda berasai nubai,
malu paratan tubai kara tepalu kepala ikan padi.

243 dispatched with a spear. The pig's liver is removed and sliced so that
796 men experienced in augury may study the lines and ventricles and divine
787 the success of the farms.

243 After the gawai, a ritual seeking of the place for farming is
787 observed, to confirm that the site selected in the meeting will be fruitful. The sounds and flights of omen birds are looked for, as well as
[782] any animals or snakes that may be there. If no bad omens are seen or heard, the site is confirmed with the offerings of eggs, popped rice and rice cakes, and the killing of a chicken to propitiate (ngenselan) the earth that will be farmed.

221 The ritual of confirming and propitiating the farm site (panggul),
243 v.f., manggul) is performed near the end of May or the first of June. Attempts by some leaders to achieve a simultaneous beginning of the farming year by fixing June 1, when Sarawak Day or Hari Dayak is observed, as the day for manggul have not been effective, for in only a minority of houses are people prepared or well enough organized to follow the calendar
[821] in arranging their work. The demise of augury and with it, the tuai burong and those familiar with the appearance and positions of the Pleiades, Orion, and Sirius has been accompanied by disparate times for manggul as well as for other activities and rituals of the farm. And this has been to the loss of many Ibans, for as Enchul Apai Jimmy of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, a successful farmer year after year, once said, Enti' kitai deka' bulih padi, enda' tau' kelalu dulu', enda' tau' kelau dudi ari orang ("If we

22/ are to get rice, we can't be much ahead or much behind other people"),
243 for the individual farmer who is early or late will have his crop ravaged by the ubiquitous sparrows. If the rice progresses at about the same rate of growth, among a number of fields, the loss for any one field is less.

221 By the middle of June, the work of clearing the farm sites is
213 begun. The inaugaration of this work is marked with an offering to pro-
782 tect the workers from injury and so that no bad omen will be perceived requiring them to call off work and move to another site. The offering (piring, v.f. miring) as on most occasions consists of popped rice (rendai), rice cakes, (sentupat, sungki), tobacco (semakau), betel leaves and nuts (pinang,sirih), and eggs (telu'), placed in a basket eight inches square and four inches deep (kelingkang), made of plaited bamboo (buloh) or rattan (ui).

242 The task of clearing lowland sites near the river banks is much
243 easier than clearing virgin jungle or even secondary growth in hilly areas. At Sungai Aup, where the same sites are farmed year after year, clearing is done with sprayers and herbicides. The proximity to Sibu and the availability of cheap transportation has permitted the Ibans at Aup to purchase pack-sprayers and chemical sprays to kill the grasses. Within two days after spraying, the farms are rolled (dibelat) with 55 gallon drums filled with water, pressing the dead grasses and stubble into the soil. Those who do not over-dilute the sprays are assured of a quick

242 wilting of the grasses. Some, however, put too much water with the
243 sprays, practicing a false economy (luki') by other Ibans' own estimates, so that the spraying is not effective and the task of weeding more difficult.

243 In most farms land still is cleared with ilok, pitu' and duku',
412 and the cut grasses and stubble left to dry before being fired. The use of these conventional tools is due in part to a greater difficulty of access to the pasar in some cases, with a concomitantly greater cost in the cost of transporting materials. Another reason is that some farms are not cultivated more than two years in succession, then allowed to lie fallow an average of seven years, making clearing more difficult.

228 A novel development has been made by Tuai Rumah Asun who alter-
176 nates a 22 acre site at 4½ miles Durin Road between rice and fish. In
243 May, the pegong ikan ("fish pond") is drained and sold on the Sibu market. The grass in the pond is sprayed with herbicides and fired when dry, after which wet rice is planted. When the rice comes to head, the pond is dammed and stocked again with fry that grow, feeding on the rice, and are caught when the pond is drained at the beginning of the next farming year.

243 Within two days of the full moon in June (keleman sahari dua udah
774 bulan kembong) the rice-beds are planted. The life/death motif noted
[221] earlier in the concept of life beginning and ending with rice appears again in the language used for planting the rice-beds. The seed are interred (dikubor, lit., "entombed") that they may rise and give new life

243 774 to the planters. Sub-species of rice are planted in separate areas in the beds, so that they may be kept apart when transplanted onto the main fields. Traditionally, the various strains of rice could not be mixed because of the semengat padi ("rice souls"), but now a more practical reason given by Ibans is that it is impossible to efficiently 243 mill long-grained rice with that which is shorter-grained. The beds are made on relatively high, well-drained soil that may be some distance from the fields. In Bawang Assan, some farmers make their chemi' in eight foot squares of earth and ash about three inches deep on their ruai, but this practice appears to be peculiar to that area where higher land for starting the seeds is lacking.

243 462 To this point, men and women may equally participate in the work, except that usually the making of the rice-beds is the task of the women. In the case of families where the husband works elsewhere, for example 25 men from Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup are employed in Sibu, almost all of the work falls to the wives and parents who may live with them.

243 788 778 When the rice shoots are about eight inches high, the sacred padi pun is transplanted and offerings made to be certain that the shoots will be received and grow well in the soil that is strange to them. The ritual, Ngelabob ka padi Pun, is unfailingly observed and no other strain of rice may be planted until the padi pun has been. After the ritual is observed, no other work is done on the farm that day.

243 When the work of transplanting is commenced, a basketful of rice-shoots is ceremonially placed on a "seat" of split sapling or bamboo [467] (nudok ka sintong). Men may help in carrying the anak padi ("rice children", i.e., seedlings) from the beds to the fields, but the onerous back-bending task of transplanting falls to women and girls. The shoots are taken from the sintong in handfulls and deftly imbedded into a hole gouged by the thumb or by a stick. Spacing varies but on an average the shoots are placed about four inches apart.

243 476 The size of the farms to be planted, the limits of the labor force available in any bilik, and the more pleasant aspect of having friends with whom to talk while working make labor exchange the rule for transplanting as well as for other tasks, such as weeding and harvesting. Enti' basi' enggau berandau, nadai asai lama', nadai asai lelak bekereja ("If there's someone else with whom to talk, the work doesn't seem long and there's no feeling of weariness"), one informant said. A survey of the farms at Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, revealed that the smallest was about three-tenths of an acre and the largest just over four acres, with an average of two-and-a-half acres, the size being determined by the demands of the family as well as the labor force available to them.

Labor exchange is arranged by the women involved, and always is based on kinship and friendship. It is based on strict reciprocity, and a close account of days expended on another family's farm and the time [184] owing the laborer's family is kept. Unlike the Ibans of the Sut (Freeman 1955:236), the Ibans who formed the concentrated work of this study

243 provide the food while others work in their fields, and pork, vegetables
496 and other lauk ("food other than rice," upriver, engkayu') are purchased
184 or obtained from the family's resources.

243 The anak padi of each variety of rice is transplanted in rows, and when one strain is completed, a new row is begun for the next. A survey of the farms of Rumah Nyala, Aup, and Rumah Imba, Salim, showed that each farm contained an average of 15 different strains of rice, divided almost equally between those maturing in six months and others
[221] requiring only three months for maturation.[12] The six-month varieties are planted between mid-August and the first of September, and the
244 three-month strains by the end of October. A strip of land three feet
243 wide between the three- and six-month varieties is planted with vegetables, the species depending upon the quality and height of the land. Corn (jagong) is interspaced between the strains of rice, and Job's tears (lingkau) on hillocks or raised mounds. Egg-plant (buah terong), pumpkins (buah entekai), and long-beans (retak panjai) are also planted on mounds of earth. Mustard seeds (leka ensabi) and gourd seeds (leka labu') are broadcast (ditabor) over the farm. In some areas where it is impractical to mound up soil, all seeds are broadcast among the rice plants, the rationale being that the plant growth helps with weed control.

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[12] The factor of photo-periodism is important, particularly for full development of the grain. For rice that is planted too late in the year will be imperfectly filled out.

243 The lay-out of Ganai Apai Gaun's farm at Sungai Aup may be taken as representative of wet rice farms in the District, and the names of the strains of rice appear below in their relative parts of his two-and-a-half acre farm.

FIGURE 4

Six-month*	Three-month**
Strains	Strains
Nibong	Malinja
Lassa	Jambi
Gelunut	Bali'
Jagu'	Bungi
Pulut	Limbang
Budang	Passa
	Selimbau

* Planted in August
** Planted in October

Weeding commences as soon as the rice is transplanted and ideally, if necessary, is repeated once or twice according to the weed growth. The importance of weeding is commonly acknowledged, but the attention and time that are given to this onerous and irksome work varies greatly from [462] farm to farm. While weeding is predominantly the work of women, some men do not disdain to stoop to the task. For example, Tuai Rumah Imba once boasted of the cleaniness of his fields as being entirely free of weeds. Nedai kayu' wesai kuan ba' umai kami ("There is no wood (even) the size

243 of my wrist on our farm"), he said, to emphasize how exceptionally beresi and lis ("clean") his fields were. And his yields show the intensity of the work that he, his wife and daughter-in-law put into weeding.

By contrast, the rule rather than the exception in a majority of cases, is a desultory and cursory weeding, once over by women assisted in a minor number of cases by older men. At Rumah Gaong in the year 1970-71, a single weeding was performed by women in 22 out of 30 cases. In one instance, Manang Biga felt inclined to travel to Oya for treatment of patients, leaving his elderly wife of 60 years and young adopted daughter of 13 to carry out the weeding. The wife suffered from arthritis and could not go to the farm, could not carry out the weeding, and the total yield for the year was carried from the field in one gunny sack.

243 433 The casual attitude that is shown to farm-work between planting and harvesting is reflected in the disparate yields. With the exception of Sungai Aup, where one-half of the families are self-sufficient in rice, in the other houses on which concentrated studies were made, only one-tenth of the families had enough rice to last them until the next

243 433 829 harvest. According to the observations and judgement of Tuai Rumah Imba and Enchul Apai Jimmy, the main reason for the failure of families to be at least self-sufficient if not having surpluses is that too much attention is given to other activities, and too little to making the farms produce. Tuai Rumah Imba once said,

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"We farm only two pieces of land, each within ten minutes walk of this house. We go to the farm each day at 7:30 and are back by noon. But we do this regularly, and don't go flitting here and there, hunting, fishing, or tapping jelutong. Some of my anembiak farm this place one year, that place the next, ka ngiga asai ("to see how they feel"), and they have time to hunt and fish- but they don't get enough rice to last through the year. So, I get the fish they catch and part of anything they kill in exchange for my rice. And right now, they are digging my ten-acre fish pond."

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After completion of weeding, the farms are fertilized. The Agriculture Department has encouraged the use of fertilizers by introducing urea, phosphates and various blends and brands of chemical fertilizers to farmers. Small quanitities are given free to participants in the schemes, and the fertilizers are for sale in more than a dozen shops

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in Sibu. The Ibans, who have been quick to recognize the benefits of fertilizing have also discovered, to their regret, that the results of fertilizers are not all unmixed blessings. In the farm year of 1970-71, Ganai Apai Gaun spent almost $200 on fertilizers and labor to assure that his crop would flourish. His rice responded to the fertilizers but to his woe, his neighbors were either reluctant or unable to put out so much on fertilizers. His rice came to ear (murai)earlier than his neighbors and despite his family's continuous day-to-day guarding, sparrows and rats consumed almost half of his crop, according to him.

243 782 Because of the plethora of pests, and in an attempt to cope with them, as soon as the fields are fertilized, the ritual Ngemali Umai ("Making the Farm Taboo") is observed. Offerings similar to those already described are made at the farm, and supplications to the antu chit, antu pipit ("spirits of the rat and sparrow") are made, beseeching them to accept the rice, cakes and eggs and take off to the sea, but leave the farms alone. Following the ritual, no one from the family is allowed to go to the farm for three days. The paths to the farm are marked with a leaf placed in the slot of a stick, to indicate that the farm is taboo, and anyone trespassing onto it is liable to a fine.

243 349 Except in the case of farms located "at the foot of the ladder" (di kaki tangga'), every family has a langkau umai or farm hut where members can stay to guard the rice when it comes to fruit. The langkau is built of split bamboo flooring on bamboo supports, with roof and walls of woven nipa or sago leaves, having an overall size of about twelve square feet. There are no divisions in the langkau and the single door opens directly onto an uncovered porch which commands a view of the rice-field.

243 224 The decimation of the animal population that has accompanied the clearing of forests in the District has reduced greatly the problem of losses due to wild pigs and deer, but occasionally such animals do small damage to the new rice and give a welcomed opportunity to mount a hunt- which almost always proves unsuccessful but provides an outing for the men and boys.

243 242 More serious threats to the rice crops are posed by insects, particularly bengas (leaf and plant hoppers), empangau rungkup (black shield bug), ulat giling (leaf folder), and pasak (stem-borer). Sprays and poisons help to control such pests but a constant vigil must be kept, and occasionally Ibans complain of the loss of their entire crops to [825] these insects. Other insects such as locusts (buntak rusa'), crickets (buntak antu), and grasshoppers (buntak) are gathered by small children and roasted over an open fire.

243 Birds and rats are the other major threats to rice crops in the District, and the damage they may wreak stress the importance of an isochronic fruiting of the rice. For, unless a number of fields come to fruit at about the same time, the predators will concentrate on those crops that fruit either earlier or later than the majority, upon which they will spread themselves out.[13] To protect the rice against these [224] pests numerous devices are employed. Men build traps, such as the tinja', "a spring-pole snare with a tread-board and key-stick' (Freeman 1955:199) and panjok, another type of spring-trap, for catching birds. Young children smear bird-lime (sempulut) on sticks which are secured to the ground or a shrub to catch birds which alight on the gummy bird-lime.

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[13] In one noteworthy attempt at double-cropping, and agronomist at Nanga Mujong, Batang Balleh, found that it is possible to farm twice a year, but only if everyone does it, so that the sparrows eat here and there and don't concentrate on one or two fields.

243 As the rice plants burst into fruit, sparrows (pipit) and rats (chit) especially are attracted to the milky, immature grain, and every effort is made to drive the predators away. The most common attempts consist of hanging bits of mirrors, tins with sticks attached as clappers, and lengths of bamboo with hardwood clappers, all with heavy strings tied and leading to the open porch of the langkau so that the guardians can set the mirrors aflashing and the clappers astriking to frighten away the sparrows, rats and other animals.

Despite all of the magic on which the Ibans call, their supplications to pests and predators alike in Ngemali Umai, and the employing of sprays, traps, sounds and lights, an amount of each year's crop is lost to insects, birds and animals. Freeman's word of warning, that

> "among themselves the Iban are greatly given to hyperbole, so that the complaint: "Ambis padi aku laban babi' ('All of my padi has been destroyed by pigs'), means that a patch a few square yards in area has been trodden down."

Ganai Apai Gaun, who alleged that he had lost half of his rice crop to sparrows and rats, has had a sufficient crop every year for the [731] past five years. Following the unseasonable floods in August, 1971, he complained that all of his shoots rotted under the standing water, and while he lost some plants, his crop this years promises to do well. Despite these losses, he had to buy rice for only two months before harvest.

243 154 The reasons for exaggeration due to losses from pests and predators are numerous. It permits inefficient farmers to save face. It prevents

243 disappointment if the harvest does not come up to expectation. It
154 protects the remainder of the crop from the dangers of reprisal from offended spirits, or from compliments from a person who can put a curse or hex on a crop, causing it to wither and die simply by commenting,
[657] "Uh, you have a good crop this year, eh?". A new reason for hyperbolical statements of losses has been provided by the Welfare Department which began making grants of rice to longhouses in which people had run out before the harvest. If officials in that Department were convinced that members of a community were in need, a grant was made; hence, the need to be convincing and exaggerative.[14]

243 Lest the wrong impression be conveyed, in sixty-four per cent of
433 the cases in the concentrated study, it was necessary to buy rice or to exchange labor or goods for it within the longhouse. But, in no single case could the cause be laid to pests alone.

[221] The period from late January to early March is known as bulan maya gantoog sendok ("the months when the ladle hangs (empty)"), and supplies of rice in a majority of cases run out. The Ibans then must buy
000 from their fellows who have surpluses, or from Chinese traders. At Rumah Gaong, members of twenty families provided labor for Enchul Apai Jimmy

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[14] The attitude expressed by some Ibans, but by no means all, has been, "If someone else is getting rice, I'm going to get some as well, for I pay taxes, too."

At Rumah Gaong, members of twenty families provided labor for Enchus Apai Jimmy at a rate of M$2 per day, clearing undergrowth from his rubber gardens and planting pepper. Enchul not only has had a surplus of rice every year since coming to Rumah Gaong, where he married, but he has maximized this advantage by providing rice in exchange for the labors of other members of the longhouse, or providing them with goods from the shop-house he has run off his tanju' with success for more than fifteen years. In his case as in that of other Iban entrepreneurs, success in rice cultivation is a sine qua non for accumulation of wealth and rise to power. For the man who grows enough rice and to spare is freed from the necessity of buying or working for his basic food, and can invest his time and surplus in acquisition of still other productive means. We have noted already the rewards that Tuai Rumah Imbe was able to enjoy from his surpluses, supplying rice to his anembiak who dug his fish-pond.

At Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, only sixteen of thirty-three families were not self-sufficient from one harvest to the next. The Government's scheme projects have shown marked increases where soil and water conditions are amenable to rice cultivation, and where instructions and work have been carefully implemented. For example, at Rumah Sungai Melangan, Batang Leba'an, yields for the past three years have each been adequate for two years supply of food.

As the rice comes to maturity (nyau mansau), an air of excitement and eager anticipation marks the behavior of the whole community. Even

243 those with surpluses of rice look forward to tasting the new rice (asi' baru), sweet smelling (bau rengut) with a bouquet much like that of freshly popped corn.

243 788 Harvesting begins with the ritual Matah Padi, which is observed so that the semengat padi will not be surprised but gradually made aware of the harvest. On the morning when Matah Padi is to be observed a minimum of three and maximum of seven panicles of rice are tied together with red thread and after an admonition to the semengat padi not to take offense and a prayer that the harvest may not be wasteful, the panicles are cut with the harvesting knife (ketap). The family and friends then return to the longhouse for cakes and tuak or other refreshments.

The day following Matah Padi, harvesting begins, men as well as women helping in the work. The task of harvesting is performed ritually following the pattern of enda' ngindu'/ngindu' or alternating strips between reapers. Beginning at the edge of the field, one man or woman reaps straight along the border (enda' ngindu') and to the right a woman harvests parallel to the first strip (ngindu'). The pace is set by the latter reaper, and when she has finished the pair move down to harvest the next parallel strips. The pattern of ngindu' or harvesting in strips is prescribed so that the reaping will not be hurried, the pace being set by the woman (indu') in order to assure that the seed will be fecund (ngindu').[15]

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[15] Indu' also has the connotation of "basic, essential."

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188 On the final day of harvest, a small section of the field is reserved for cutting the next morning. On that last morning the family workers early take an offering to the final stand of rice, and after a prayer to the rice soul to go with them, the last panicles are cut and carefully covered with a piece of cloth. This ritual, Ngelechut ka Padi, is performed to insure that the semengat padi will return to the longhouse with the rice, and not be left in the ground.

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[178] The newly harvested rice is stored temporarily in the langkau or,
[285] if the house is close by, carried immediately to the longhouse. Although the traditional carrying basket (lanji') is still used for transporting the rice, it rapidly is giving way to gunny-sacks (guni) which have the advantages of being cheap (M$.40 each), taking no time to make as the baskets do, and being useful for storing rice in excess to space available in the bark-bins (tibang).

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574 After the padi has been received ceremonially into the house, preparations are made for threshing (tungku', v.f., nungku'). On the day that the threshing begins, the family serves rice cakes, drinks and whatever other food they may be able to furnish. All members of the community are invited (dipadah ka) and a festive air fills the house.

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285 The padi is emptied from the lanji' or guni into a heap on the rusi, from which about a bushel at a time is taken and placed onto a tikai senggang, a mat made of large fibers and proscribed for any activity

243 other than that of threshing the padi. When I asked on several occasions
285 whether the tikai senggang could be used for any other purpose, the Ibans replied emphatically that it could not, for it would offend the samengat padi.

> ". . . Grasping a loose bark-cloth strap in each hand to gain support and purchase, (the thresher) commences to tread the panicles (tangkai). The action is a vigorous one, the outer panciles being forced down on to the mat and kneaded with the bare soles of the feet. They are gathered up again with the instep and inner surface of the foot and ankle, to be trampled once more. In this way the grain (still in the hull, of course) is gradually separated from the branches of the panicles. The first treading of a bushel of panicles takes about seven to nine minutes - the time varying with the degree of ripeness at reaping."

462 Threshing is usually done by men, although in the absence of
476 male workers women do it. If labor-exchange has been arranged for other activities, such as planting and weeding, it is usual for the group to continue through together and to share in threshing.

After the first threshing, in which many grains are loosened, women squatting to the sides of the tikai senggang lift the panicles (now called ruman) and sift any free grains through their fingers onto the mat. The panicles then are gathered up again for a second threshing by foot.

243 Although the Ibans are aware of and acknowledge the quicker
177 methods of the Chinese who harvest padi with a long-knife, grasping a
178 dozen or more stalks at once and cutting them off about 15 inches from

243 the panicles, then flailing the heads over the boards of a specially
177 constructed container, they say that they dare not follow these techni-
178 ques which they consider coarse (kasar) for fear that they would offend the semangat padi.

243 As the padi is threshed, it is spread on a bidai, a large mat
251 used especailly for drying (kerekai) the padi on the family's tanju'.
285 The padi is poured onto the bidai and raked with a wooden-bladed rake to a depth of about one inch. Lengths of bamboo or thin saplings up to twelve feet long are extended from the windows opening onto the tanju' so that hungary chickens can be driven away by a swing of the bamboo or wood. Ideally, the padi will be dried for a full day to assure that it will not turn moldy (bekuap) in storage. The first drops of a shower send men and women alike scurrying to cover the padi or to bring it into the house in case of a hard rain.

243 After the padi is dried, it is returned to the ruai and covered by folding the corners of the bidai over it. On a hot and windless day, the padi is winnowed. The bidai is opened and the padi transferred to a series of baka', circular baskets made of plaited rattan averaging about one bushel in capacity. The baka' full of padi are taken one by one to the tanju' where the winnowing is done. The bearer tilts the baka' slightly allowing a steady stream of padi to pour over the lip into the
462 tikai senggang which have been spread to receive the padi. As one person pours (berayar) the padi, one to three women fan (muput) winnowing-

243 trays (chapan) rapidly up and down, blowing the empty husks (ampa') away.
[462] As the padi collects on the tikai it is returned to the bidai to await the final storing.

The storing of the padi is done in the evening of the first full
243 moon (bulan kembong) after the harvest, and requires about three hours.
251 [221] The storage is an event of moment, for the sufficiency of the padi until the next harvest depends upon a proper storing. If the padi is handled carelessly or without respect, it will be offended and diminish far more rapidly than it should. If it is handled with reverence, it magically will increase in storage.

[554] The senior active woman in the bilik does the actual storing, receiving the padi as it is passed up from the bilik either in baka' or
[182] half coconut husks (tachu'). As in all major stages of the farm year, storage is observed with offerings (piring), consisting of the items already described. The woman in charge enlists the help of other men in the longhouse to aid in stamping the padi down into the tibang, to
[784] insure that it will not be wasted. The husband or male members of the bilik storing cannot be engaged in this because of the sexual relations obtaining between him and the woman in charge. The padi is poured into the tibang, which measures about five feet in diameter by three feet in depth, until the two or three owned by the family are filled, and surplus rice is stored in guni which may be stored alongside the tibang in the sadau, or lined up against the wall of the bilik.

243 After all the families in the longhouse have completed the
196 storage of their padi, one final festival, Muai Ansang, Muai Miang
[782] ("Throwing Off the Padi Dust") is observed. Offerings are made to the gods and spirits, and tuak, rice cakes and other food shared. The purpose of this festival is to denote the completion of all the farm work for another year, and to demonstrate that the people no longer are handling rice (badu' megai padi ka sataun nya'), so that the miang or irritants from the padi don't cling to the workers and they don't become sick (ngambika miang enda' malut kitai agi', lalu kitai enda' sakit).

243 After the tibang has been closed, it cannot be opened until the
[788] next waxing of the moon, for to do so would invite a magical loss of the padi. When the tibang is opened, popped rice (rendai) is scattered over the padi to insure the favor of the samengat padi. The principal woman worker in the bilik then takes a tachu' and gently gathers (ngempuru') the padi that is to be removed. Removing the padi in the tachu' she transfers it to a baka' to be taken down from the sadau for husking.

407 The conventional technique for husking padi is with a two-piece, wooden mill (kisar, v.f. ngisar), into which the padi is poured at the top and falls through a hole onto notched grooves of the lower section. Holding a handle on either side of the upper section, the woman twists the mill back and forth so that the husks are separated as they are forced over the notches of the grooves.

407 Many longhouse communities have access to gasoline-driven rice-
[435] mills, usually the property of one individual who mills the rice of other members of the community for a price. For example, at Rumah Gaong, Enchul Apai Jimmy has operated a mill for about ten years, charging M$1.00 per pikul of padi milled. At Rumah Nyala, the Tuai Rumah has a mill and charges M$1.30 per pikul.

3. Division of Labor and Returns

243 In the past and at present, a principal portion of farm-work
462 has fallen to women. In areas where shifting cultivation still is practiced, men help with felling trees and clearing the farms at the beginning of the year, and carry the baskets of rice from the fields to the house at the end of the harvest. But the other tasks generally fall to women.

[412] In wet-rice cultivation, men may help spray fields with herbicides where this technique is used, and also share in the hot and onerous job of preparing the soil by chopping it with a pito, a single-edged blade on a three-and-a-half foot handle. Men also help by rolling the fields where the use of drums has been adopted. But the other work of transplanting and weeding are the lot of women.

243 The time that is spent in farming varies considerably from family
[433] to family, according to the size of the labor-force and the farm they cultivate. Similarly, the returns vary according to the thoroughness of the workers, the quality of the soil, and the use of fertilizers.

243 According to the studies of some agriculturalists whose conclusions are
242 supported by many Iban farmers, continuous cultivation and fertilization of some types of local soil, far from making the soil infertile and resulting in diminishing yields, rather makes it more fertile with increased yields.

243 In Table 16, the division of labor for wet-rice cultivation at
461 Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, is presented together with the average number
462 of man-days per acre in the various activities of farming. The man-days represent an average of the time spent by five families. The days for tasks such as building the farmhouse, weaving, winnowing and storing are pro-rated according to acreage and number of persons involved.

The day at the farm generally is long, workers "going down" (turun) before daylight and not uncommonly returning at sundown. The average work-day is approximately ten hours. Multiplying the average number of man-days by the average work-day, the average number of man-
433 hours invested per acre is 700. At Rumah Nyala, the average yield of padi was 1,106 catties (11.06 piculs) per acre, or about 830 catties of husked rice, which is considerably above the average yield of most other communities in the District.[16]

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[16] The average yield per acre for Rumah Gaong, Sengan, Rumah Imba and Nyelang, Salim was 5.8 piculs per acre or about one-half that of Rumah Nyala in 1970-71.

TABLE 16

243 461 462 Division of Labor and Man-Days per Acre

Types of Work	Men	Women	Man-Days
Preparing the seed-bed	X	X	1
Clearing and burning	X	X	7
Cultivating the soil	X	X	14
Building Farmhouse	X		2
Transplanting	x	X	7
Weeding and fertilizing		X	14
[285] Weaving mats, winnowing baskets and seed baskets		X	2
Harvesting and transporting	X	X	17
Threshing	X	X	2
Drying		X	2
Winnowing		X	1
Storage	x	X	1
	Total No. Man-Days:		70

x = minor role
X = major role

243 435 465 Calculating on the basis of the going price of M$2.20 per gantang (six catties) for Iban rice in the pasar, the total value per average acre was M$304.15, making the rate of return about M$ .43 per hour invested in padi cultivation.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

465 Although this rate is below that paid for some types of work, such as laborer with an established construction company, it is well above the amount that an individual can earn tapping rubber at present prices or working as a laborer for a fellow Iban in most communities.[17] Although as we have mentioned, padi cultivation is a ritual activity among the Iban, it also is an economic enterprise. And, while most Ibans do not calcualte their returns as above, they are nonetheless aware of the relative rewards derived from padi cultivation and other activities.

243 464 The shift to wet-rice cultivation, obviating the necessity of men felling large trees and clearing new farms has freed them to seek other employment to supplement their family's food supply and income. We have noted that only 36 per cent of those families surveyed were self-sufficient in rice, the remainder having to buy or exchange labor for what they lacked. The combination of freedom from clearing new fields and the necessity of adding to their farms' yields have contributed to many men seeking work either in the pasar or wherever it can be found. In Table 17, the economic activities including agriculture and other occupations are presented for the longhouse community of Rumah Nyala.

243 461 One further note must be added about farming and young people. Padi cultivation is by the admission of most Ibans hard and sometimes painful work. Though the rewards of wet-rice cultivation are relatively

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[17] The going rate for laborers, other than for clearing and cultivating farmlands, is about M$2.00 per day.

243 greater than those of hill-rice, yet each form has its peculiar diffi-
461 culties. Men and women who have spent days cultivating the soil (mito) complain of the intense pain through the chest and shoulders this work brings. Withstanding the elements, sun and rain (laban panas ujan) also
[464] elicits complaints. It should not be surprising, therefore, that many young people - and older ones, too - are disinclined to endure the rigors of farming, which offer relatively small if not uncertain rewards, and look for any opportunity to find other employment wherever it may be obtained.

B. Collecting and Fishing

222 Next to rice cultivation and wage-earning, the next most important
226 forms of Iban adaptation in this District are collecting and fishing. We have discussed the importance of rubber as one of the economic bases of Sibu, but when prices drop, tapping stops. Similarly, attention to pepper gardening varies with the market. Collecting and fishing, however, are generally universal and consistent activities through which the Ibans acquire foodstuffs and marketable goods.

Collecting

Iban adat provides that anyone may eat the fruit of another
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[671] person's tree at the tree, but it is a violation subject to fine to re-
[432] move or take fruit away from the place. The various species of fruit are gathered in season and sometimes sold to Chinese vendors or, more frequently of late, sold by Iban collectors, either men or women, on the streets.

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ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Agricultural and Other Occupations
Rumah Nyala
Sungai Aup
1970-1971

Bilik Number	Husband	Farm Wife	Workers Son	Daughter	Exchange Labor	Hired Workers	Size Farm*	Yield Rice**	Sufficiency	Members Employed in Other Occupations
1.	Luang	Bacha		Seti			2	14	100%	Dana (brickyard) Karun (construction) Berawang (timber) Dundang (teacher) Marang (police)
2.		Ijah					1.5	26.6	100%	Stanley (Field Force)
3.	Achong	Inya		Dora	Nunsong*** Gambus Lipah Linda		2.5	18.2	50%	Achong (SESCO) Dagang (Rangers) Baring (movie projectionist)
4.	Liang	Bangan					1.5	24.4	100%	Langang (teacher) Langgai (Field Force)
5.	Ganai	Nunsong			***	Puyang Rose Sabah	2	14	50%	Ganai (gardener) Gaun (teacher) Asun (Radio Malaysia)
6.	Beji						2	14	100%	
7.		Mayah	Noel				.6	5.6	100%	Noel (minister)
8.	Kudi (cripple, supported by brother, Pengarah Chundi ak Pengulu Rasa)									
9.	Anding	Sumai					1.5	28	100%	Anding (custodian) Kunding (Field Force)
10.	Ambas	Lipah			***		1.5	26.6	100%	Ambas (gardener) Suda (hose demonstrator)
11.	Janti	Sari			****		1	13.4	100%	Linus (Commando)
12.	Golau	Gambus			***		1.5	18.2	100%	Minggu (Rangers)

*"Size Farm" in acres
**"Yield Rice" in piculs, 100 catties (133 1/3 pounds)
***Dora, Nunsong, Gambus, Lipah and Linda exchanged labor in every major farming activity, i.e., transplanting, weeding, harvesting, threshing and winnowing, all on basis of kinship.
****Sari and Nunsong exchanged labor for weeding only.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

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TABLE 17 (Cont'd)

Bilik Number	Husband	Farm Workers Wife	Son	Daughter	Exchange Labor	Hired Workers	Size Farm*	Yield Rice**	Sufficiency	Members Employed in Other Occupations
13.	Umpi	Semanbu'	Juna*				2	25.2	100%	Umpi (gardener) Jugah (Rangers) Linggi (agriculture center, Bukit Lan)
14.	Juna	Serdai					1	15.4	80%	Juna (teacher)
15.	Chundi	Gading					1	15.4	80%	Chundi (Pengarah) Linjong (agriculture center, Bukit Lan)
16.	Tadon**	Siti					3	29.4	100%	Tadon (teacher) Leong (cook) Ngadon (Field Force)
17.	Nyala'	Sangkan				5 women	3	35	100%	Dun-dang (teacher) Jinggan (teacher)
18.	Lium	Nuya				7 women	1.5	30.8	100%	Lium (teacher) Tamoh (teacher) Peter Nari (teacher)
19.	Pelugan	Undal		Reni***			4	56	100%	Tuah (teacher) Bujal (dresser, medical)
20.	Apit	Sebah					1.5	8.4	30%	Apit (construction)
21.	Linang	Julan		Annie			1.5	21	100%	Linang (cook)
22.	Patan	Chengok					1	7	30%	Patan (part-time construction)
23.	Machau	Linda		+			1.5	19.6	100%	Tugong (construction) Demi (part-time, Sibu)
24.	Francis	Buda		Jimba			1	14	100%	Francis (custodian)
25.	Antas	Puyang		Rose			2	15.4	40%	Antas (quarry laborer) Ajon (Field Force)
26.	Adau	Lemut	Juli	Debau			1	9.8	30%	Juli (gardener)
27.	Jerau	Sanau					1.5	24.4	40%	Jerau (custodian) Sudau (part-time, Sibu)

*Living in old family bilik, but still helps Umpi with farming.
**Son-in-law of Siti.
***Reni, sister of Pelugan
+See labor group in Bilik Number 3.

18:Sutlive E,M-S (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

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TABLE 17 (Cont'd)

Bilik Number	Husband	Farm Wife	Workers Son	Daughter	Exchange Labor	Hired Workers	Size Farm*	Yield Rice**	Suffi-ciency	Members Employed in Other Occupations
28.	Umang	Dijah					1.5	14	80%	Umang (cook)
29.	Julia						.3	2.8	30%	Julia (part-time, Sibu)
30.	Eli	Epet					1.5	18.2	100%	Kuna (teacher)
										Jacky (construction, Brunei)
31.	Megong			Rosita			1.5	11.2	40%	Rosita (part-time, Sibu)
32.		Ajik	Limbai				.5	5.6	60%	Jarup (Rangers)
33.	Jerading	Demon					2.5	28	100%	Mulia (construction, Brunei)
										Mustapha (Rangers)
										Saka (timber, Indonesia)

222 824 The most important fruits commercially include several species of banana (pisang pisang, pisang keling, pisang ambon and pisang mas), plantains (pisang tandok), jackfruit (buah nangka, buah temedak), mango (buah mangga, buah kuini), papaya or pawpaw (buah beti', buah rungan), guava (jambu batu), Malay apple (jambu merah), water apple (jambu ai), mangosteen (buah manggis, buah sikup), oranges (buah limau), pomelo (limau besai), pineapple (buah berunai, nanas), soursop (durian belanda), star fruit buah belimbing), rambutan (buah nibau), and durian (buah rian).[18] The durian deserves especial note because of its incomparable character.[19] [435] The fruit is in great demand and in an off-season, such as during August, 1971, an average size fruit may cost M$ 4 to 5.

314 The chief exploitation of the nipa palm for sugar occurs in the First Division. The Ibans and Malays of the Lower Rajang and Igan Rivers derive income from the manufacture of roofing thatch (attap) from the nipa leaves and coverings (kajang) from the nipa shoots (sumbok). They also manufacture cigarette papers (daun rokok or rokok apong) which, together with the other items, are taken to market when a sufficient quantity has been manufactured.

[231] The sago palm is an important source of fodder for pigs among the Ibans, but has little commercial value to them, as it does among the

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[18] For comprehensive listing, description and scientific names, see Allen, 1967.

[19] An incomparable description of this scatoleous fruit appears in the Encylopedia Brittanica, "Durian."

Malanus who manufacture sago flour (cf. Morris, 1964). Sago palms are held by Iban families under customary rights. The trunk of the palm is sawed into 30 inch lengths, split and rasped (diparut) for pig fodder. Sago also is eaten as a rice substitute when the rice supply is exhausted and Ibans have no money with which to buy more.[20] In the Middle Rejang and its tributaries, where the nipa palm does not grow, the leaves of the sago palm (daun mulong) are used for thatching and coverings. The sago nut (buah mulong) is a part of Iban pharmacology, being highly astringent and used in the treatment of diarrhea.

Numerous reeds grow both in low-lying and higher land, and are collected for the manufacture of mats and baskets by women. The reeds (ui, purun, bemban) are cut and taken to the longhouse where they are alternately dried and soaked until the outer covering (kulit) can be cut away (disimu', dilit) with a sharp, long-handled knife (lungga). The species bemban is the most valuable because it requires great attention in preparation for weaving. It is exposed to dew (diperambun) for five to seven nights in order to achieve the prized lightness of color. If rain falls the bemban is quickly retrieved by the women for rain will blacken the bemban. The weaving of baskets and mats is done by women on the longhouse ruai or covered common verandah. In addition to the

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[20] A period that is described colorfully but dreadfully as maya bulan gantong sendok, "when the rice-ladle hangs (empty over the pot)."

In addition to the
285 continuous demand of the Ibans themselves for mats and baskets, the
[432] former for covering the floors when sitting, for containing the newly harvested rice and for threshing, the latter for containers for seed, harvested rice, fish and jungle produce, among other uses, they also are manufactured for sale in Sibu.[21]

222 Other jungle produce of commercial value includes a wide variety
432 of vegetables. Ibans living in the Sungai Sunga and Sungai Assan area
443 collect edible ferns each evening and bring the ferns (the most common are paku' and kemiding) bound in pineapple leaves (daun nanas) to market in the early morning. Kangkong, a leafy vegetable not unlike spinach, is plucked and sold regularly. Less regularly, Ibans bring in bamboo shoots (tubu') and the cabbages of several species of palms such as the sago (upa' mulong), upa' pantu', upa' maram, upa' apong, upa' lalia and upa' bindang.

Fishing

226 Exploitation of aquatic life provides the principal source of
[262] protein in the Iban diet. Fish, shrimps and snails are caught or trapped in the numerous streams. Various types of worms and slugs are obtained

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[484] [21] The sale of mats and baskets affords an opportunity for Iban women to visit the Sibu pasar or, occasionally, to travel as far as Sarikei, where they rationalize the prices are better - and the cost of
[111] travel thrice that to Sibu! The availability of plastics is being exploited by Iban women who weave brightly colored baskets of plastic and sell them from door to door or to local shops.

226 by splitting open submerged logs from which they are removed. The presence of several species of fish depends upon conditions of the water, but other species are almost constantly present.

226 The most common fish are the ikan semah, tapah, empuran, keli', 825 baung, purui, tilan, lalong, labang, and enseluai. During high tides and 227 flooding, Ibans stretch nets (pukat, v.f., mukat) across streams or suspend nets over a framework at a slope of 20° (nyelambau). In smaller streams fish-traps (bubu) are planted and fishing is done with pole and hook (nginti'). In larger waters, the cast-net (jala, v.f., nyala) is used. When streams are low, snails are collected from the banks, and when the water is high on the main rivers and at the mouths of their tributaries, shrimp are netted.

226 The near absence of fish in some hilly regions and some smaller streams has prompted Ibans to dig fishponds, varying in size from 1300 cubic feet to 22 acres. The ponds are stocked with fingerlings or fry purchased from Chinese traders or supplied by the Agriculture Department. [434] The harvest of a large pond earns a profit of several hundred dollars for the owner, who also has his own supply of fish.

C. Animal Husbandry

231 In this final section dealing with the Ibans' adaptation, we shall consider briefly the types and purposes of animals and fowl which they [262] keep. As a general rule, the livestock which is considered edible by them is kept either for ceremonial purposes or for marketing, and little of it is consumed in the daily fare of the Iban.

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235 Almost all families keep (ngінang) chickens and pigs for gawai. In more traditional houses, the chickens are kept in rattan cages (kerungan) which are suspended from the underside of the ruai or common verandah. In more modern houses, there often are separate chicken-houses. Pigs roam around and beneath the longhouse, feeding off the droppings that fall through the slats of the floor, or off sago logs. In some areas, the [654] pigs are kept penned in front of the house or beneath it. A number of Ibans have taken advantage of a program of subsidies provided by the Agriculture Department to put pig-houses and improve their stock.

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[224] Although hunting is an infrequent activity and adds little to the food-supply of the Ibans of this District, yet dogs are kept by almost every bilik-family, and in some houses threaten to outnumber and even outeat the human population. In most houses, dogs have the roam of the ruai where their steps revereberate on the loosely placed planks. When their presence becomes bothersome, a swift kick or punch sends them scurrying away. Cats prowl over the bilik walls and through the loft in search of rats and other prey.

In a few longhouses, larger stock and other fowl such as ducks and geese are kept. Some individuals have purchased goats, water-buffalo and cattle which have been imported by Government or church-related agricultural programs. In most cases, attempts at keeping these types of livestock have not been successful due to inadequate and improper food-supplies, or conditions that were too unhealthy for the stock. Where they

231 have been kept, the owners invariably have sold them or slaughtered the animals for gawai.

182 Iban adaptation is divided among a number of activities in response to the physical habitat and social environment in which they live. The principal means of acquiring their food for a majority of families is through rice horticulture. Because of the insufficiency of yields, about 64 per cent of all families have to purchase rice with money received for wages or from the sale of rubber, pepper or other produce. Fishing, collecting and keeping livestock are the other major ways Ibans supplement their food and income.

THE BILIK-FAMILY

692 182 The fundamental unit of Iban society is the bilik-family.[1] Adapting as they have to poor soils which would not support a large population; to uncontrollable elements such as rainfall and flooding, drought and blight, and pests beyond measure; and with their techniques of shifting cultivation accompanied by extensive ritual activities, the Ibans have selected and placed a premium upon the bilik-family as an autonomous producing and consuming unit.

592 [602] The bilik-family tends to be small and flexible in receiving and releasing members who enjoy a high degree of mobility. Bilateral attachment permits members to exploit ties from both parents' kin-groups to their maximum benefit. And organization of bilik-families in the longhouse system has provided defense when head-hunting still was in vogue, labor when a larger work-force is required during the periods of clearing and harvesting the rice fields, and supplements to supplies for festive activities.

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[114] [104] [1]This spelling differs from Freeman's bilik (1970:2), but is consonant with Scott (1955:29) and current spellings of Iban. The final vowel is a glide and best represented by the phoneme /i/, for in Iban the letter "e" is commonly used to indicate a schwa.

592 The charter for the autonomous bilik-family, the longhouse organi-
773 zation, and other features of Iban social structure is contained in the elaborate mythology of the Iban. For, as the spirit-beings, both petara (benevolent beings) and antu (malevolent spirits) were created in the images of the Iban, so too they provide a warranty for the Iban way of life. For, after all, Singalang Burong, the kite-god, and his seven sons, were the first to live in bilik-families in the longhouse, and what better example could be followed?

592 Contrary to the casual observations and hastily formed opinions of visitors to the longhouse, the bilik-family is not part of a larger corporate kin-group, nor is it administered by the tuai rumah. Rather, it is an economically independent unit, autonomous in its own affairs, producing and consuming its own food, and attached to the longhouse by ties of kinship or friendship.

592 The bilik-family is defined primarily by ties of kinship and
591 affinity. Although local residence is an important criterion, it is not the primary one in definition of membership, as Freeman (1970:9) has written. For instance, in Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, Tamoh and her husband, Peter Nari, a Melanau, of Bilik No. 18, are considered members of that bilik-family, though they live ten months of the year at the school where they are teaching (presently, Durin). Linus, of Bilik No. 11, returns on an average of once each two years to the old couple, Sari and Janti, but he is their heir. Similarly, Rabbu ak Megong (of Bilik No. 31) has

592 591 been chosen heir by Tuba of Rumah Pengulu Chot, Bawang Assan, although he has not lived in Bawang Assan for 15 years.

592 The bilik-family is a kin-based corporate group, enduring over generations and possessing usufruct rights to lands cleared by ancestors (tanah aki' ini') and heirlooms (pesaka aki' ini'). It is distinguished by its sacred rice (padi pun) and its magical charms, pengaroh, including the important ubat padi (rice medicine) and kayu' burong (augur's sticks).A

592 784 [773] The bilik-family is a ceremonial group, having its own set of taboos (penti pemali) and ritual prohibitions (pantang), arising from mythical events in the distant past.[2] These prohibitions assume greater importance in Iban culture when marriages are being arranged, and efforts are made to avoid matching two young people whose families have disparate or even conflicting pantang.

592 553 [789] The bilik-family is a status-conferring group, ascribing names to its members among the class-conscious Ibans. Traditionally, children were named either for a maternal or a paternal grandparent, depending upon the sex of the child. This practice served two functions: first, it implemented the Iban belief in mnemonic immortality, assuring that the grandparent would be remembered in his namesake; second, it identified

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[2] Numerous myths abound, each family having its own accounts of how an ancestor was taught or helped by a mynah bird (tiong) or band of macaques (kera'), this animal or bird then being taboo (mali di-empa').

A [The author presumably means "augur's sticks"--Analyst]

592 the kin-group (suku-juru) of the child, providing a means of distinguish-
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789 ing members of groups who were notoriously poor farmers or who had the ability to put a hex on people or padi (tau' tepang).[3]

592 A. Composition of the Bilik-Family

Although the bilik-family is a relatively enduring group, its genealogical composition changes over time as indicated in Table 18.[4] A
[594] In 95 per cent of 1051 bilik-families on which data were collected, the composition was either that of a nuclear family (FaMoCh) or of a stem family (FaMoChCh). Nuclear families occurred in 596 cases, or 56 per cent of the total sample. Stem families were found in 400 cases, or 38 per cent of the sample. Fifty-two cases of individuals or couples living alone were found, a majority of the former being either widows or widowers living in the same house as a sibling or child. Of the couples living alone, 38 out of the 42 such cases were as yet childless young people who had moved from one of their natal bilik, and the other four cases were old people whose children had moved away, either because of marriage or employment.

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[3]Such persons can curse a person or padi-field, simply by speaking of the person or thing, according to Iban tradition.

[127] [4]The data for the years 1960 and 1966 were taken from censuses in the Pengulus' Tins kept in the Sibu District Office. The information for 1970 was taken in part from the Preliminary Census, and in eight cases, collected by the writer.

A, [See page 254--Analyst]

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591 The changes in genealogical composition may be traced in several bilik-families in Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup. In 1960, Mayah anak Muran (Bilik No. 6) was a widow, living with her three children, Noel, Simu' and Vornica. Noel married in 1960 and moved away because of employment. In 1964, Simu' married and took up residence with his wife in her natal bilik (Rumah Nyala, No. 2). When Noel terminated his employment in 1961, he returned to his mother's bilik with his wife and two children. He lived there until he moved with his family to Sibu because of employment. Vornica was married briefly to a member of the Field Force. Although her husband agreed to live in her bilik, she took up residence with him because he was earning wages. After she divorced him, she returned to Mayah with whom she now lives. Thus, within a decade, Mayah's family has changed from a composition of two generations to three, she lived alone for a while, and now is a two generation family.

In 1960, Ganai anak Jubang (Bilik No. 5) lived as a widower with his mother, Peremi anak Ajai, his children, Sindong, Gaon and Asun, his sister, Gambus, who had recently divorced, and her son, Minggu anak Tabor. Sindong married Sana, who agreed to take up uxorilocal residence, but because of his employment, the principals agreed that Sindong and Sana would live in the Sibu Police Barracks. Gambus married Gelau, who adopted Minggu, and they took up residence in Bilik No. 12. Shortly before Peremi died, Ganai married Mumsong. Gaon has completed training to become a teacher, and is working in Kapit. Asun has taken a job with Radio

592 Malaysia in Limbang, and has moved there with financial assistance from
591 Ganai and Sana. Thus, while Asun and Gaon still are recognized as members of Ganai's bilik, as technically are Sana and Sindong by the former's agreement with Ganai, in fact only Ganai and Nunsong are living in Bilik No. 5. Thus, within the past ten years, the composition of Ganai's bilik has changed from three - to two - generations, reckoning Asun and Gaon as members.

In the genealogical composition for Rumah Inba, Nyelang and Gaong, as in the larger sample, a majority of the families are comprised of nuclear of stem families.[5] Although no instances of married siblings with adult children living together as members of the same bilik-family were encountered in the sample, two cases were found, one in Majau, the other in Rumah Councillor Ranggar, Rantau Dilang. But these two situations were so rare and atypical to raise the comment,

> "(That is a)very unusual family. Most of us simply couldn't get along well enough to live as they do." (Nyelai' amat sida' nya'. Kami mayoh enda' ulih begulai baka sida' ia, Bangau Anping, 17.3.71).

592 A significant development in recent years has been the tendency
591 away from one of the cardinal rules of social organization, viz. the
178 presence of at least one child in the natal bilik to look after the parents
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256]

[5] Rumah Inba, Nyelang, and Gaong were not included in Table 18 because no data were available for the years 1960 and 1966.

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TABLE 18

Generation Profile
Selected Longhouses
1960 - 1966 - 1970

Numbers in 1970 Census	Tuai Rumah	Area/ Sungai	Year	Number of Bilik-Families	Number of Generations per Bilik-Family One	Two	Three	Four
1	Geli	Bawang	1960	25	1	8	16	
		Assan	1966	32		18	14	
			1970	35	2	16	17	
7	Salleh	Bawang	1960	26	1	12	13	
		Assan	1966	28	1	16	11	
			1970	27		14	13	
88	Buga	Penasu	1960	10		7	3	
			1966	25	2	19	4	
			1970	26	1	19	6	
90	Aus	Penasu	1960	18	2	10	6	
	Bain		1966	22	3	16	3	
			1970	22	1	17	3	1
	Jala	Batu	1960	17		12	5	
		Burak	1966	14		7	7	
			1970	27		11	16	
92	Unking	Penasu	1960	14	2	11	1	
	Penasu		1966	21	3	16	2	
			1970	19		14	5	
97	Nyala	Aup	1960	19		8	11	
			1966	26	1	14	11	
			1970	33	2	19	12	

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TABLE 18 (Cont'd)

Numbers in 1970 Census	Tuai Rumah	Area/ Sungai	Year	Number of Bilik-Families	Number of Generations per Bilik-Family One	Two	Three	Four
100	Mat	Lawang	1960	18	4	11	3	
			1966	12	4	7	1	
			1970	11	2	6	3	
123	Sintan	Rian,	1960	29		20	9	
		Nanan	1966	24		12	12	
			1970	27	1	15	11	
	Buda	Nanan	1960	10	1	6	3	
			1966	10		7	3	
			1970	16	2	8	5	1
186	Nyambang	Oya Rd.	1960	16	2	6	7	1
		Batu	1966	18	1	10	7	
		6½	1970	16	2	8	6	
197	Pg.Poh	Pasai	1960	33		14	19	
			1966	33	2	17	14	
			1970	31		16	15	
199	Sirai	Pasai	1960	16		6	10	
		Bon	1966	22	1	14	7	
			1970	19		13	6	
185	Tindit	Oya Rd.	1960	17	1	9	7	
		13½	1966	9		6	3	
			1970	12	1	7	4	
241	Berandah	Durin	1960	47	1	23	23	
			1966	58	2	32	24	
			1970	61	3	39	19	
			TOTALS	1051	52	596	400	3

592 in their old age. As Freeman describes this principle,
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> ". . .at least one of the children of a family, when he or she reaches maturity and marries, always remains in the parents bilik. All the other children may marry out and so become members of other units, but one always stays in the natal bilik."

While this rule remains culturally normative, in fact a number of instances may be adduced to indicate that it is not followed; for example, the family situations of Mayah and Ganai of Rumah Nyala. In both cases, the husbands agreed to uxorilocal residence (nguai ka indu')[6] but because the husbands of both were wage-earners, the rule of residence was waived in favor of the promise of financial help and the assumption of responsibility. The marriage of Vornica, Mayah's daughter, was so brief that this promise could not be realized. In the case of Sana and Sindong, Ganai supplies them with rice when he comes to town, and he lives with them in the Police Barracks while in town. When Asun moved to Limbang to take up his work, Ganai gave him his pocket money and Sana bought his brother-in-law's air ticket when the latter flew to Limbang to take up work

592 The orientation to a cash economy has affected this residence rule,
591 so that monthly remittance by wage-earning children or their spouses is
178 as acceptable as physical presence and labor that may be contributed to
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[6] Nguai or ngugi means to take residence with wife's or husband's parents. Nguai ka indu' is uxorilocal, Nguai ka lelaki, virilocal residence.

592 the acquisition of food and marketable goods. At a general meeting of
591 the tuai rumah and tuai bilik shortly before Asun's departure for Limbang,
178 each man, beginning with the tuai rumah, spoke as eloquently as possible,
183 trying to impress upon Asun how much Ganai had spent on his support, food,
434 education and clothing.

> "Now, you are going to earn wages, so don't forget your parents who have supported you all your life" (Diatu' nuan deka' makai gaji. Anang enda' ingat ka sida apai indai ke udah melanja ka nuan.

Even if the move of children to Sibu or elsewhere for employment, leaves no one in the bilik to look after the parents, this often is preferable, even sought, if the children contribute financially towards the
[181] support of the parents. For the Iban is cash-conscious and cash-hungary, money always being inadequate to meet their demands and desires. With only 36 per cent of the Iban population self-sufficient in rice, a majority of the families must buy this staple for a period from a few weeks to half-a-year. The uncertain prices of rubber, pepper, ginger and other products makes wage-earning an attractive situation, both for the earner and his parents or in-laws whom he may be called on to help. Hence, the changing pattern in this cardinal rule of Iban postmarital residence.

591 The composition of the bilik-family fluctuates between the nuclear
592 family and the stem family in a majority of cases. There are a number of
178 reasons for this fluctuation, some of which are directly related to the
[161] in-migration of Ibans to Sibu. First, the fluctuation is related with an increase in population and a concept of limited goods. In Rumah Nyala,

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592 the population increased from 113 in 1960 to 130 in 1966 and 246 in 1970.
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161 During the same years the number of bilik increased from 19 to 26 to 33. This increase was due in part to the marriage in of a number of persons, in part to the number of births exceeding deaths, and in part, to newcomers to the community. During this period, 55 members of the longhouse took up employment elsewhere, either on a commuting basis or for periods up to two years when they are absent from the community. Although these persons are officially recognized as members of Rumah Nyala, if they and their dependents are deducted from the population figure, the remainder in actual daily residence at Rumah Nyala is 165.

591 We have noted in the cases of Mayah and Ganai that the composition
592 of their families varied with the movements in and out of their children
178 and siblings and that this was correlated in part with their children's
464 employment. When Noel quit his job, he returned to Mayah's bilik. When he found new employment, he and his family moved to Sibu. In discussing the reasons for his moving out, Noel said that although his family usually has enough rice, yet their land can support only so many people. In addition, his employment opens a new source for exploitation, to supplement padi-farming. Further, he said that as their bilik is not wealthy, and Vornica is a girl, it is better that she stays to take care of Mayah and to inherit the bilik.

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592 A second principal reason for fluctuation in the composition of
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621 the bilik-family is related to bilik partition.[7] Partition occurs when
162 an individual or family removes from the natal bilik to found a new, separate bilik. That this is common may be ascertained by reference to Table 18, A in which nine of the 15 longhouses surveyed showed an increase in the number of bilik-families, the principal cause being partition. Partition arises primarily from the development of collateral nuclear
592 families with divergent and incompatible interests. Within the bilik,
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621 property is divided into common and private. In the more traditional long-
421 house, common property included temuda' (farm lands cleared by ancestors), fruit trees, rubber and pepper gardens, brassware, large Chinese jars, antique bowls and plates, ceremonial garments and ornaments, pua' kumbu' (woven blankets) and other woven materials, augury sticks, charms and medicines, sacred and ordinary rice seed, and human skulls (antu pala'). In more modern houses, such as Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang, common property also includes wrought iron furniture with vinyl-covered, foam rubber cushions, glass-front cupboards, desks, vanity tables, and dining
[534] room suites. At Rumah Nyala, it even includes a share in the combo in-
[377] struments, purchased at a cost of $1700 by the entire longhouse community, and the electrical wiring and fluorescent tubes, as well as the dynamo (Iban dilemo) for powering the electric supply.

[7] See Freeman's excellent discussion on "Partition," 1970:41-55.

A, [See p. 254--Analyst]

000 (Iban dilemo) for powering the electric supply.

591 621 421 578 Although the individual may acquire personal property for himself, he is expected to contribute to the common property of the bilik of which he is a member. And, in this comes a source of conflict that not infrequently results in partition. One member may feel that he or his [202] family is contributing more than another. Resentments smoulder and issue forth in gossip about the other party, who overhears or is told of the gossip.[8] Insults are inferred and added to real injuries, arising from the strain and drain on psychic energies of more or less constant contact (selalu bepeda', always in sight, is the Iban expression with meaning near to "familiarity breeds contempt"). In the end, the individual or family [787] comes to the decision that no longer can they tolerate the situation. The decision may be articulated in a dream, impelling the individual or family to move. Or, it may be expressed through conversation, in which the parties concerned seek the best solution to their conflict. Not infrequently, the decision to remove is reached in the heat of anger, and the individual or family will leave being scarcely on speaking terms with those who stay.

591 621 587 Upi ak Paren (Bilik No. 14) of Rumah Nyala moved his family out of his natal bilik, after he remarried following the death of Sunta, his first wife. Sunta was the sister of Pengarah Chundi (Bilik No. 15), both children

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[8] Gossip among the Iban, as with all people, is a viable means of indirectly releasing hostilities. The Iban dislike direct confrontations, such encounters being banned under positive and negative sanctions and reinforced with supernatural taboos (penti pemali).

591 of, the late Pengulu Resa. When Umpi remarried within a year of Sunta's
621 death, some members of the community were critical, alleging that he had
587 not shown proper respect for the daughter of the pengulu. After Juna
[578] anak Umpi married and had children, Umpi decided that it would be better for the two families if he moved his second wife, Semambu', and their children to a pelaboh almost directly off his tanju'. He took a share of the common property, but turned over the remainder along with the bilik, a well-constructed, carpenter-built section, to Juna and his family.

591 In another case of partition with which the writer is familiar,
593 all the children of Changgan (Manang Biga') of Rumah Gaong, moved from their father's bilik, leaving their parents to themselves. The reasons given may be summarized in a sentence: The children refused to put anything more into the bilik because they felt that they would never be able to accumulate anything for themselves. Changgan is a notoriously casual farmer. A practicing shaman, he went on a prolonged visit to Oya in 1970, thereby losing his rice crops, except for one gunny sack full. His children continue to contribute to his food supply, but having moved out and built pelaboh for themselves, they now are free to work and save for their own personal goals.

On this point, Freeman is most correct in writing that,

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> "the positive advantages of independence are many. Having a bilek of their own gives a man and his wife the opportunity to live and work without interference, and in the knowledge that they will not have to share the fruits of their labours with others. To the Iban, who are nothing if not calculating and ambitious individualists, this is an immense attraction."

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[591]

Partition is a regulatory mechanism on the size of the bilik-family, which, despite the movement of individuals or families in and out, remains few in number. From data gathered on the populations of Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang, on 88 bilik-families, the overall average for the population of 445 persons was 5.1 persons per family. Rumah Imba had the lowest average with 4.6 persons per bilik, and Rumah Nyelang had the highest with 5.6 persons per bilik.

TABLE 19

Numerical Composition of Bilik-Families

Number of Persons per bilik-family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Average per bilik-families
Frenquency:													
Rumah Nyala	2	5	6	5	3	1	3	5	1	-	-	1	5.0
Rumah Imba	-	1	4	7	6	3	2	2	1	-	-	-	4.6
Rumah Nyelang	-	-	4	4	8	5	1	2	2	-	-	1	5.6
Totals	2	6	14	16	17	9	6	9	4	-	-	2	

In the larger sample of Table 18, the total population in 1970 for the 15 longhouses was 2,054, living in 382 bilik-families. The average for that larger sample is 5.4 persons per bilik. As previously noted, the genealogical composition fluctuates between two and three generations.

592 In contrast to the genealogical composition of the families in Freeman's sample (1970: 11-12), the prevalent type of family group in this writer's sample is the two generation or nuclear family, which accounted for 596, or 56 per cent, of the total 1,051 families. The next largest type of family group is the stem family, with 400, or 40 per cent, of all the families.

592 591 In summary, the small number of members and genealogical simplicity of the Iban bilik-family, obtains generally in Iban society. The bilik-family tends to fluctuate between two and three generations, as members move in and out according to their circumstances. Partition, arising primarily from the structural development of complementary units and ensuing conflicts of interest, is a regulatory mechanism on the size of the bilik-family, which averages approximately five members. The assurance of acceptance in the bilik-family or a kinsman and the cultural norms of mobility, adventure, pioneering and achievement, are important factors in the movements of individuals and families from one longhouse to another, and, as will be discussed later, from the longhouse to Sibu pasar.

B. Recruitment to the Bilik-Family

592 [597] [585] [587] There are four means by which Ibans become members of a bilik-family. Every individual is born into a bilik-family. He may remain a member of that family or may be adopted into another family. Upon marriage, he may become a member of his spouse's family. And, finally, he may be incorporated into a bilik, achieving jural membership and becoming an heir, through a second marriage of one of his parents.

000 heir, through a second marriage of one of his parents.

592 While it is true, as Freeman writes, that,

> "at any given moment in time, every Iban - man, woman, or child - is a member of one particular bilek-family, and one only,"

it is equally true that membership in a particular bilik can be extremely transient, and that the bilik-family is an open-ended group, to which individuals may attach or detach themselves with minimal disruption. Thus, Linjong anak Umpi (Bilik No. 14) of Rumah Nyala, was adopted by Bangai, his late mother's mother. After living with Bangai for a short time, he removed from her bilik and took up residence with his brother, Juna, where his jural residence is now recognized. Within a short time, he was the member of three different bilik-families. We now will consider each of the principles of recruitment to membership in the bilik-family in turn.

1. Birth

[851] [855] Each child at birth becomes a member of his father's and mother's bilik, assuming that they have not divorced prior to his birth. Ultimate responsibility for the care, nurture and education of the child rests with [421] the bilik of his birth. By virtue of his birth, the child acquires all [681] [858] rights to property, so long as he remains a member of that bilik. Until a child is ten years old, he is not subject to fine (adat), being considered too young to know anything (agi' jugau).

858 842 Children are highly desired and prized among the Iban, who are affectionate and permissive with them. As one woman stated her feelings,

[585]

> "When we marry, when the 'areca nut is split,' when the bride comes, we are seated on a gong and a cock is waved over our heads, so that we will be fecund and have children. We covet many children, and it is a curse to be barren. We don't have any limit, the more the better. For a single child is like a fish-hook with one eye- if it snaps, it's gone. Therefore, the least number of children we want is three, as in the example of the fish-hook." (See Iban text below)

591 592 851 Membership in the bilik-family is determined by the local residence of the parents. Depending upon the residence of his parents at the time of his birth, a child may become a member of his father's natal bilik, if his parents are residing virilocally, of his mother's natal bilik, if they are residing uxorilocally, or neither, if they are residing neolocally, for instance, in the case of parents who have moved into Sibu.

612 Although membership in the bilik-family is restricted according to the local residence of a child's parents, every child at birth becomes a member of both his father's and his mother's kin-groups (kaban belayan, suku juru). Among the Ibans, attachment is bilateral, and a child is recognised as having kin-ties on both of his parents' sides. These ties are

[431] ritually acknowledged by a token gift[9] of salt, ginger or chilis (so that

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[9] Commonly called jerukan attap.

[539] Iban Text: Enti' bebini, leboh melah pinang, leboh bini datai, dudok ba' tawak, dibiau enggau manok, awak ka saduai ia teleŋak beranak (sic). Sigi' ingin ka tuboh mayoh. Tulah orang ka enda' beranak. Sekat pemayoh nadai pai' ba kami bansa Iban, ia ke mayoh. Siko' empai umbas, baka ginti' ka' asnata, enti' ia putus nadai sigi'. Nya' alai, ka' ambis kurang tiga iko', sema' ari ginti' nya' tadi'.

612 his speech will be powerful and effective, bisa), by his paternal and
[437] maternal kinsmen upon the child's first entrance into their bilik.
The principle of bilateral attachment is crucial in Iban social organisation, and to our understanding of the society beyond the bilik-family. We shall discuss the Iban suku-juru in a later section of this chapter.

851 In Table 20, the membership of children living as members of their
591 father's natal bilik, their mother's natal bilik, on in their parents'
162 bilik neolocally, is presented for Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang.

TABLE 20

Residence of Children by Birth

Longhouse	Father's Natal Bilik	Mother's Natal Bilik	Neolocal
Nyala	12	22	7
Imba	9	17	3
Nyelang	13	10	4
Totals	34	49	14

184 Unlike the situation described by Freeman (1970:16) for longhouses
851 in Kapit District, where membership of children was about equally divided
591 between the bilik-family of either mother or father, there is a greater number of families in which children are living as members of their mother's natal bilik than those in which they are living as members of their father's natal bilik. These cases, taken together with those in which families are residing neolocally comprise almost two-thirds of the bilik-families. Children lived as members of their father's natal bilik in 34 families,

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 . OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

184 or in 35.1 per cent of the cases; as members of their mother's natal
851 bilik in 49 families, or 50.5 per cent of the cases; and in new bilik in
591 14 families, or 14.4 per cent of the cases.

562 Two principal reasons may be offered for this shift away from
[591] virilocality. First, as discussed already, women play a relatively greater role in wet-rice farming than do men among the Ibans. Women are acknowledged by agriculturalists to be more knowledgeable about horticulutre than men. If labor-exchange is arranged, women do it among themselves, and preferably with kin. Even in hiring labor, women contract the employees, whether men or women. If labor-exchange is not arranged and no hiring is done, women still express a preference for working their fields near their own kin, rather than with strangers or even affines.

591 A second reason that is contributing to this shift away from
469 virilocality is the increasing number of men who are taking up employment away from their longhouses. In such situations, their wives either will live with them, as in the case of Sindong and Sana, in a neolocal situation, or remain in the wives' natal bilik, among family and friends. In a virilocal situation, with an absentee husband, tensions between wife and her in-laws are apt to become so unbearable that she either will move to be with her husband, or return to her natal bilik. The probability of contracting an enduring union with wife residing in husband's natal bilik, and husband away for long periods of time, is unlikely, hence, the second reason for a shift away from virilocality.

591 This is not to say, however, that the "principle of utrolateral filiation" (Freeman 1970:16) is abrogated, for despite the shift away from virilocality indicated above, the peculiar circumstances of the families from which the husband and wife come always enter into consideration. For example, in Rumah Nyelang there is a greater incidence of virilocal residence than uxorilocal or neolocal residence. The reason for the higher incidence of virilocal residence may be attributed directly to an unusually large number of female children in the families of Jengging (Bilik No. 9) and Mujau (Bilik No. 16). Jengging has seven children, six of whom are daughters. Four of Jengging's daughters took up residence with their husband's natal bilik, and three of Mujau's daughters did the same. Thus, in these two families, there is a high incidence of virilocal residence because of the unusually large number of daughters, whom it is difficult if not impossible to support, along with their families, given the limited amount of land available for farming.

591 In summary, children become members of a bilik-family by birth.
851 It may be either the natal bilik of the father or mother, or a new bilik, depending upon the employment of the husband, the relative degree of closeness of the families involved, and the number of children in the families.

2. Adoption

A second way by which membership in the bilik-family is effected is through adoption (iru or ambu'; v.f., ngiru, ngambu'). Adoption is a fairly common practice among the Iban for four main reasons. First, although there is a high rate of marriage among the Iban, there also is a high rate of childlessness. Being without children gives rise to shame, and is interpreted as a curse. Many Iban women are childless due to dietary problems. Some miscarry (kelebuan) because of improper ante-natal care and excessively heavy work. Others deliver successfully, but inadequate facilities in the longhouse, together with heavy-handed procedures in achieving the passage of the baby, result in the death of the infant and, sometimes, the mother as well.[10] Post-partum practices account for a high infant mortality rate.[11] These factors and others contribute to the high incidence of childlessness among the Iban.

A second reason for the practice of adoption has been the traditional system of social security. Oriented as they have been to a non-cash economy, the Ibans have recognized the dependence of the old upon

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[10] During labor, women press upon a board placed across the abdomen of the woman delivering to help passage of the baby. In one case reported by a hospital surgeon, difficulty was encountered and a woman seized the arm of the infant, wrenching it from the socket, resulting in the death of both baby and mother.

[11] Tetanus, caused by cutting the umbilical cord with a bamboo sliver and then rubbing ash from the hearth into the naval, has been a major cause of early infant deaths.

597 887 their children. Although the elderly remain active and, as the Iban say, don't want to be empty-handed and idle (enggai puang jari), nevertheless, there comes a time when they no longer can farm and earn an adequate living for themselves, and when they become dependent upon their children. If they are childless, however, they must adopt the child of another person to assure that they have some one to take care [769] of them in their old age. At the same time, the adopted child becomes heir in the bilik, provides for the bilik's continuity over time, and will perform the rituals so important culturally for a pleasant life for the parents in Sebayan (the next life).

597 571 602 A third reason why adoption is practiced is to strengthen ties of friendship and kinship. Children are highly prized, and the gift of a child in adoption to a kinsman or friend is the paramount expression of brotherhood.

608 Finally, adoption occurs between adult peers in the case of kampar (strangers, sojourners) who are adopted as brothers (be-ambu' 608 nadi'). When the decision was made to adopt a kampar, traditionally, 796 178 the intention of the sponsor was made known to other members of the longhouse, and ritually confirmed before the members of the community in a ceremony in which the participants blend their blood together (bekempit ka darah). This ritual is rarely practiced, and the adoption of the kampar is done much more casually and privately by the family which takes him in.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

597 In Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang, cases of adoption that occurred were invariably between different bilik-families, and always between close kinsmen. No instance of adoption of a child by a member of the same bilik as the child's parents occurred. In Table 21 the incidence of adoption in each of the houses is shown.

TABLE 21

Incidence of Adoption

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	Rumah Nyala	Rumah Imba	Rumah Nyelang	Total
Males	3	2	7	12
Females	0	3	4	7
Totals	3	5	11	19
Number of bilik in which adoption occurred	2	5	7	14
Percentage of bilik in which adoption occurred	6%	17.8%	25.9%	General Average:15.9%

[184] The number of cases of adoption as well as the general average of adoptions per longhouse are significantly less than the number and average reported by Freeman (1970:17) for the Kapit District. In Rumah Nyala, there are only two bilik-families in which adoption occurred. In Rumah 597 Nyelang, children were adopted in seven of the families. In every instance, the family giving up a child for adoption had a large number of children (by their own assessment), and the family adopting had none. For example, Jinggut (Bilik No. 2) and his wife, Tipong, had 12 children, five of whom eventually were adopted by siblings. Tuai Rumah Nyelang

(Bilik No. 11) had five children, two of whom were adopted by his childless brothers. Adoptions between Iban and Chinese occur, in almost all cases the Iban adopting a child of a Chinese friend. In Rumah Imba, Ngelayang (Bilik No. 22) adopted Anchum, a young Chinese boy, from a friend, and Anchum is heir, living with his wife in Ngelayang's bilik.

When two families agree upon adoption of one's child by the other, members of the longhouse community are informed. Offerings (piring), containing objects described previously, are made to propitiate the spirits of both families. A cock is killed and the forehead of the participants touched (digenselan) with a feather wiped in the blood. Each tuai bilik brings a symbol of life (axe, knife, cloth or other article needed to make a living) as a pledge[12] to support the arranged adoption. At the same time, the parents adopting the child are warned that if they do not fulfill their responsibilities to the child, they must repay to each tuai bilik the pledge that he has brought. Then, to the accompaniment of drum-beats, the kin-groups (kaban) of both families walk with the child the length of the ruai. The father adopting the child carries a spear over his shoulder, to indicate his bravery and as a warning to anyone who threatens his new family arrangement. The child's physical father carries a jar as a symbol of his gift. The kaban, each member of which holds the edge of a woven blanket (pua' kumbu') that unites them in one group, stops

[12] Iban tembang (v.f., nembang), to ransom or to adopt.

597 796 [612] on each ruai where the tuai rumah or pengulu states that the adoption is taking place and warns against any interference. After travelling the length of the house, the child is led into his new bilik and received ceremonially into his new family.

597 [686] Adoptions are recognized by Government as being legal contracts made by the families involved. The Tusun Tunggu (List of Fines) provides for penalties (ukum) on the adopting father if he is irresponsible or mistreats his step-son, or for anyone else who may interfere in the adoption. [659] Adoptions usually are witnessed by the local community, but Government provides for their registration in the District Office with the payment of a stamp duty.

597 177 846 To the question of why are there relatively fewer adoptions in the three longhouses surveyed vis-a-vis the longhouses in the Kapit District, as reported by Freeman, Ibans gave two answers. First, the incidence of childlessness is lower, because of improved methods of caring for mothers and their children. An increasing number of Ibans are coming to Sibu clinics for ante- and post-natal care, as well as family planning. Information about infant care is disseminated through radio broadcasts and pamphlets. The traditional diet of rice and salt for the mother during the first month after delivery is being replaced with a more balanced diet, through instruction in clinics and example of Chinese mothers who eat a chicken a day for the first month. The score of private doctors and clinics and the Lau King Howe Hospital offers treatment for

597 infants of disease that formerly would have proved fatal, such as gastro-
177 enteritis, diphtheria, as well as other alimentary and respiratory ill-
846 nesses. Figures on the relative incidence of infant mortality rates are
[165] unavailable, but it may be noted that in the three houses surveyed the number of childless couples totalled only seven.

597 A second answer to the question is that there is less dependence
178 felt by parents on their children. That is, as the orientation to a
593 cash economy and achievement of regular income through employment takes place, there is less need felt for placing the parents' security in their old age on a child who may or may not be faithful to his adopted parents. The Employees Provident Fund or a private savings account is more dependable.

597 Although these rationalizations of the situation do not wholly
829 suffice as explanations, and adoptions still occur in childless families
178 as well as those with children, for the love and enjoyment children may
[369] offer, yet they are significant as perceptions of Ibans as to what appears as a change in the practice of adoption, viz., the incidence of adoption decreases closer to the urban center. More data are required, however, to substantiate or refute this hypothesis.

597 Adoption provides a second way to membership in the bilik-family. Adoption establishes the full rights of the new member to share in the property, to farm the land, to collect the fruit, and to all other privileges of the family.

3. Marriage

584 592 A third way to membership in the bilik-family is provided through marriage. Marriages may be arranged in one of six ways. First, a man may enter the bilik-family of the woman by his own desire (nama' ka diri' ngagai bilik indu' ari pengeras ati ia empu), and with no arrangements with his parents. Second, a man may enter the bilik-family of the woman by parental arrangements (nama' ka diri' ngagai bilik indu' ari ator apai indai). Third, a woman may enter the bilik-family of the man, if received by his parents. (indu' nama' ka diri' ngagai lelaki tuboh puang). Fourthly, (indu' muntong ka kandong) a woman who has delivered a child for whom a chicken has been killed as expiation may enter the bilik-family [851] of the father of the child, if received by his parents. An unmarried woman who becomes pregnant can not be taken to the man's bilik until the child has been born. Fifth, (anjong lelaki), the man is ceremonially taken to the woman's house. Sometimes he is taken by all the members of his house, sometimes by only a few close kinsmen and friends, depending upon the free time, funds, and general inclinations. Sixth, (melah pinang), a ceremony is held involving members of both kin-groups, as will be described later in this chapter.

[622] In all of the six ways, the tuai rumah must be informed. Also, in each of the ways, attempts are made to obtain the consent of both sets of parents, who can cause trouble for the couple if they don't agree with the marriage, possibly ending in divorce.

4. Postmarital Residence

591 592 [612] Upon marriage, one of the partners agree to take up residence in and/or responsibility for the bilik-family of the other partner. This agreement is worked out by the kaban of both partners, in discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages to either family if its child marries out (nguai or ngugi). In the case of a family with many children, it may be anticipated that some of them will marry out. Thus, for example, in the case of Jenggings's family (Rumah Nyelang, Bilik No. 9), in which there were eight children, the four oldest married out. On the other hand, in a family with only one child (anak tunggal), it may be anticipated that they will insist that the spouse nguai to them. [464] We have noted already the tendency towards neolocal residence when one of the spouses is a wage-earner. Even in these situations, however, agreement as to the bilik to which responsibility is given will be defined by the families concerned.

593 [184] While Freeman's statement that,

> "marrying into another bilik means the virtual abandonment of one's natal or adoptive bilek-family,"

may be true for the Ibans of the Kapit District, it does not hold for the Ibans of the Sibu District. In numerous cases, couples continued to maintain ties through visits to both natal bilik, as well as to contribute towards the support of both sets of parents. [431] For instance, well over half of the Iban couples residing in Sibu claim that they send gifts

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 278]

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TABLE 22

Composition of Bilik-Families

Members of Bilik-Family	Rumah Nyala	Rumah Imba	Rumah Nyelang	Totals	Percentage (Approximate)
Widow, Widower	2	-	-	2	2
Man and Wife (no children)	-	1	-	1	2
Mother and child	1	1	-	2	2
Mother, daughter and grandchild	1	1	-	2	2
Parents and child (children)	20	17	21	58	66
Parents, child and spouse	1	-	-	1	1
Parents, child's spouse and grandchildren	2	5	3	10	12
Mother, child's spouse and grandchildren	3	2	2	7	8
Mother, child's husband, grandchild's spouse, great grandchild	-	1	-	1	1
Mother's brother, daughter's husband, grandchild	1	-	-	1	1
Parents, father's sister and brother, children	1	-	-	1	1
Father, daughter and spouse, children	-	-	1	1	1
Mother and mother's mother, father's mother, mother's sister, children	1	-	-	1	1
	33	28	27	88	100

593 of food, clothing or money to both sets of parents, and in family
431 situations observed by the writer, both husband's and wife's parents visited their children and not infrequently were given passage and pocket money for their return trips to the longhouse. Though the statements made by couples claiming to support both parents to some degree may be untrue, yet it is significant as an indication of the recognition of some responsibility that ought to be assumed and enacted.

591 Postmarital residence may be either virilocal, uxorilocal or neolocal, depending upon the circumstances of the families involved in making the arrangements. In Table 23 the postmarital residence patterns for Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang are given.

TABLE 23

Postmarital Residence

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Longhouse	Virilocal	Uxorilocal	Neolocal
Nyala	21	26	2
Imba	16	28	-
Nyelang	20	17	-
Totals	57	71	2
Percentages	43.8%	54.6%	1.6%

In Rumah Nyala and Imba, there is a predominance of cases of men who are living with their wives' families. The number of instances of uxorilocal residence in the two houses outnumbers those of virilocal residence by 54 to 37. In Rumah Nyelang, there is a predominance of

591 virilocal residence by 20 to 17 cases. Overall in the three houses,
162 there are 71 cases in which men are living uxorilocally, or 54.6 per cent of the total, 57 cases in which women are living virilocally, or 43.8 per cent of the total, and two cases of neolocal residence, or 1.6 per cent of all the residences surveyed in the three houses.

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421 When a person marries out of his bilik-family, he loses all rights
[428] of inheritance by his attachment to the bilik-family of his spouse. At the time of his separation from the family, he is given a portion (pemai') of the family's common property, consisting of one jar (tajau sigi') and one bronze gong (bebendai sigi'). If the family has an abundance of farmland and rubber or pepper gardens, he may be given an amount of land, the basis for division being one acre for the child who marries out to two acres for the child who remains in the bilik to care for the parents. One aspect of the rights of the child who marries out that must be emphasized is the privilege of returning to farm land felled by his ancestors. Marrying out does not result in a surrender of rights to cultivate land in one's natal bilik-family.

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606 When an individual marries into his spouse's bilik, he acquires
607 equal rights with other members of that family. Thus, although he maintains the rights mentioned above of cultivating land held by his natal bilik-family, this privilege rarely is activated because he receives rights to land through his spouse (bisi' bagi ari bini tauka laki ia). Not infrequently, the affine assumes the most important role in the family.

592 606 607 Thus, in Rumah Nyala, 14 of 33 tuai bilik were affines. In Table 24 the number of affinal and natal or adoptive members who are economically active in Rumah Nyala, Imba and Nyelang are shown.

TABLE 24

Economically Active Members

in Bilik-Families

592 606 607 162

Longhouse	Natal/Adopted Member	Affinal Members
Nyala	53	27
Imba	48	31
Nyelang	48	34
	149	92
Percentages	61.8%	38.2%

The number of economically active affines (27) in Rumah Nyala is only about one-half that of natal or adopted members (53) of bilik-families. Affinal members constitute only 33.7 per cent of the total labor force. However, the importance of affines as principal workers in padi-farming is almost equal to that of the other group, natal or adopted members constituting the main cultivator in 14 cases, affines in 13 cases. On the other hand, affines comprise only about 25 per cent (i.e., 14 cases) of the wage-earners, 41 natal or adopted members being employed.

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5. Rules of Marriage

"In former times, young people had to marry members of their own kin-group, lest they commit incest

18:Sutlive E,M-S , (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

582 (unwittingly) or marry a person with the evil eye."[13]

Traditional Iban marriage rules are clearly defined, and the forms of marriage which are preferred and those which are proscribed are commonly recognized. Marriage should be monogamous. Marriage is preferred with a member of one's bilateral kindred. Marriage preferably should be with a person who stands between the degrees of first and fifth cousin. Marriage preferably - from the parents' point of view - should be arranged by the parents of the young people involved. Marriage between siblings is incestuous, as is marriage between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren. Marriage between avuncular and nepotic relatives, or between other members of adjacent generations, is disapproved, but possible if propitiary rites are performed (besapat ka ai', berunsor).

177 Despite the clear definition of marriage rules, however, there is great flexibility in the bilateral social organization of the Iban, which is being stretched even further through contact with and borrowing from other ethnic groups in this District. From Sandin's description of adat besapat (1967:71-73), a ritual existing to be activated in case a couple stood in wrong kin relations to one another and insisted on getting married, and the relative ease with which desired unions are rationalized and arranged, the agamous marriage regulations of the Iban, as other bilateral societies, give great freedom in the contracting of marriages.

[13] Suba enda' tau' enda' jadi enggau turun diri' empu, enggaika jadi mali, enggaika jadi enggau orang tau' tepang.

OOC give great freedom in the contracting of marriages.

595 Generally, the form of marriage among the Iban is monogamy. However, within the Sibu District, six cases of sororal polygamy and [622] eight cases on non-sororal polygamy were discovered. In the six cases [556] of sororal polygamy, the men involved were either tuai rumah or relatively [587] wealthy. The women who became second wives all had been widowed prior to [612] taking up residence with her sister and husband. In telling me about taking his second wife, Tuai Rumah Nyambang said that,

> "our kin-groups (kaban) met together and discussed the situation and agreed that it would be all right for her to be my second wife."

Unlike those families in which sororal polygamy occurs, where the wives live together with their husband, in the case of non-sororal polygamy studied the wives live in separate residences, the husband dividing his time between the two wives. Tuai Rumah Nanggai of Sungai Assan was married for about ten years prior to his second marriage. Nanggai's first wife lives in the longhouse in Assan, and his second wife in a rented house in Sibu.

Commenting on polygamous marriages, Gansi anak Jubang of Rumah Nyala, Aup, said,

[777] > "in former times, we couldn't have more than one wife at a time. This (having two wives) is a new thing, copying the Chinese and Malays. This is a new situation since Malaysia."

595 829 Monogamous marriages continue to be the general form of marriage among the Iban, and those men who enter into polygamous unions are thought of by their peers as deviant, forsaking the traditional ways of the Iban for the ways of other groups (ukai jalai kami Iban).

582 612 In stating a preference for marriage, older Ibans confirmed that the traditional rule is that it should be with a member of one's bilateral kindred. A number of factors are adduced in support of marriage within 582 the kindred. First, marriage between close kinsmen, for example, first 421 612 cousins, prevents loss of property through division.

> "It's best if first cousins marry, lest property be divided to other people. For example, if we two were brothers, it would be well for our children to marry, for what's your's is mine and mine is your's, it would be kept together and not divided."[14]

The economic principle upon which the desire for marriage of close kinsmen is predicated is succinctly expressed in the phrase, saum buah, saum tanah (sharing fruit, sharing land). This phrase, which is commonly used in describing the advantage of marriage between close kinsmen, was volunteered independently by three different informants. In relating this principle to the proscription of the marriage of siblings, Tuai Rumah Ampan said that,

> "marrying first-cousins permits the couple to share in land and gardens from both kin-groups. This wouldn't

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[539] [14] Iban text: Manah agi' enti diri' petunggal sakali' jadi enggaika reta dibagi ngagai orang bukai. Sema' jako', tua diri' madi', anak nuan enggau anak aku badas jadi, laban utai nuan utai aku, enda' dibagi, enda pechah.

582 421 612 be so if siblings married, for they would receive only within their own bilik; hence, this is a tabooed union (jadi mali)."

582 602 612 A second reason given for preference of marriage within the kindred is that it permits maintenance of kinties. Marriage with non kinsmen weakens the network of the kaban both by failure to unite with kinsmen as well as by the introduction of strangers.

> "If we marry with strangers, people whom we don't know, we already are removing ourselves at some distance from our kinsmen. That's why we always (sic) look for a close kinsman, so that we won't break the ties (putus tali)."

582 554 612 789 A third reason offered by every informant with whom marriage regulations were discussed was of a more supernatural nature, but related to the first two reasons already discussed. Marriage within the kaban permits marriage with a person who has the evil eye or in some other way is a bearer of misfortune. It also insures that one's child or relative doesn't marry down, with some one of a lower class. How is the person of [558] lower class, the bearer of the evil eye recognized? The person of a lower class is a member of a family which never has enough rice, a descendant [157] of debt slaves, or a person plagued by failure. The Iban are highly motivated towards demonstrative achievement and, traditionally, the single ultimate criterion of success was a bountiful harvest year after year. 567 426 Occasionally, poor harvests and other misfortunes combined to produce circumstances in which a man had to become a debt slave (ulun leka rian or ulun buah rian) in order to survive. The debt slave was considered of

much lower status than the war captive (ulun tangkap or ulun berani) who might be redeemed and adopted, whereas the debt slave could not.

The bearer of the evil eye is recognized because everything he attempts or touches turns out badly. For example, if he simply says of a neighbor's farm, "That's a nice stand of rice" (Manah endar padi nuan), the crop will wither in the husk. He can hex (kau' tapang) for he is hexed!

Further, because of each kin-group's individual history, it has numerous proscriptions, (pantang) which are peculiar to it: avoidance of macaque (kera'), python (sawa'), mynah (tiong), and so on. Marriage within the kaban insures that the partners will not come into conflict because of different taboos but will share the same ones (sama pantang).

However, while marriage within the bilateral kindred is preferred by the Iban for the reasons already discussed, in actual practice marriage generally is with a person who is not of one's kindred. Thus, of 31 marriages in Rumah Nyala, Aup, only seven were between members of the same kin-group (diri' sakaban), as indicated in Table 25.

TABLE 25

Marriage within Kindred Rumah Nyala

Relationship of Spouses	Uncle Niece	First Cousins	Second Cousins	Third Cousins	Fourth Cousins	Not Kaban
Incidence	2	1	2		2	24
Percentage	7	3	7		7	76

582 612 This incidence of marriages between members of the same kaban and different kaban holds true also for Rumah Laba and Rumah Nyelang with but slight variations. Thus, the preferential marriage of diri' sakaban occurs only in about one-fourth of the marriages.

588 783 In Rumah Nyala two marriages between persons standing in proscribed relations, viz. uncle and niece, occurred. Simu' of Bilik No. 2 and Tuai Rumah Nyala himself both married their brothers' daughters, and had to go through the ritual, Berumsor, to propitiate the spirits who might be offended by their unions. In each case, the couple stood downstream from a point where a pig was killed and the blood washed past them, [689] protecting them from wrathful spirits. Afterwards, the couple was required to make a token payment of US$ .03 to each bilik as atonement to keep the area cool (pelasi' menoa), as prescribed by the Tusun Tunggu (List of Fines).

582 As may be anticipated, the incidence of marriage between members of the same longhouse community is relatively low, as indicated in Table 26 for Rumah Nyala.

TABLE 26

Marriage between Members Same Longhouse

	Between Members of Same Longhouse	Between Members of Different Longhouse
Incidence	4	27
Percentage	13	87

582 829 Commenting on the high incidence of marriages outside the longhouse, several Ibans expressed a reticence to marry a member of one's own community because of over-familiarity.

[836] "You may court (ngayap)[15] a girl from your home community and sleep with her without having any intention of marrying her."

[184] That all Ibans do not share this opinion is apparent in the marriages that do take place between members of the same longhouse, but these are notably a minority.

584 183 The cultural prescription among adults of the senior generation, i.e., 40 years old and above, for parent-arranged marriages had virtually no support among young adults who prefer to find their own spouses. Through discussion with members of the senior generation, I ascertained that while they now subscribe to this norm, in fact few of them married (di-ator) according to arrangements made by their parents. In Rumah Nyala, only Linang and Julan (Bilik No. 21) were "arranged by their parents" (di-ator apai indai).

584 More commonly, marriages are arranged according to the choices of young people (sabong mata, a match (by the) eyes). A young man will see a girl to whom he takes a fancy and pay her a call. Entering her mosquite-net, he takes hold of her toe to announce his presence. They

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[15] For a discussion of traditional courting patterns and changes that are occurring in them as related to changes in residential patterns see Paul Beavitt, "Ngayap," SMJ, Vol. XV, Nos. 30-31, pp. 407-413. December, 1967.

584 will talk for the first two visits, the man not wanting to press his case too strongly, the girl not wanting to give herself too freely. But, if nothing comes of his visits by the third night, the suitor knows that he has been rejected. If, on the other hand, he is accepted, he either will ask his parents to contact the girl's parents to discover their feelings, or he will take up residence in the girl's bilik, presenting both sets of parents thereby with fait accompli.

584 162 In Rumah Nyala, seventeen of the 31 marriages were the result of ngayap and the man's taking up residence in his wife's bilik. In 13 of the 31 cases, the man's parents or other relatives contacted the parents or relatives of the girl and made arrangements for the marriage.

TABLE 27

Mode of Marriage Rumah Nyala

	Parental Arrangement	Initiated by Man, Arranged with Parents	Arranged Only by Couple
Incidence	1	13	17
Percentage	3%	42%	55%

584 In addition to the single marriage contracted through parental arrangement in Rumah Nyala, I am aware of less than a dozen other such marriages among the Iban whom I know. The marriage of Leonard Linggi, son of Tan Sri Dato Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, to the daughter of Pengarah Banyan, was arranged by the parents but with the agreement of the couple. [662] It is representative of a form of dynastic marriage through which the children of powerful leaders symbolically unite the kin-groups, and

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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several Ibans alluded to it as the true way of Iban marriage (nya' baru jalai Iban ke amat), an instance of the exceptional being the exemplary.

In a survey of 143 secondary school students who had studied in Sibu between 1960 and 1970, 137 of the students indicated that they favored selecting their own spouses, with less than one-half favoring consultation with their parents about their choice. While there is little evidence of the influence of education on marriage patterns among Ibans who do not achieve as high as Form Three (Ninth Grade), there is abundant evidence of its influence upon those who study in Form Three or the higher forms. Whereas a majority of Ibans marry between the ages of 15 and 17 years, 102 of those in the survey sample of 143 were unmarried, about half of whom had been out of school for three or more years. Further, all of the respondents indicated that they wanted a spouse who was at least literate, and 34 stated that they wanted a partner who was as well-educated as themselves. It is also significant that none of the respondents returned to longhouse domicile, and all are living either in the place of their employment or with their spouses.

The economic potential represented by a highly educated young person abrogates and takes precedence over a low-class status or history of familial failure, making the young person highly acceptable as a candidate for marriage.

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"In the past we looked at how successful a man's (or woman's) family was in padi-farming. We wanted to know whether he was a descendant of slaves, or whether someone in his group had the evil eye. But these things aren't remembered any more, because of education (tang, diatu' padai agi' dikingat, laban sekula)."

584 When parents or relative help arrange the marriage of children or kinsmen, a representation of the man's kin speaks on his behalf to the parents of the girl. This visit (beterang, to clarify) may or may not be accompanied with a ritual presentation of a ring (sua' tinchin) to seal the agreement between the two kin-groups. The groups fix a date for the marriage rituals to be observed (nimpoh ka hari).

585 If the girl is from a different community, on a day agreed upon the groom's relatives come to fetch the girl (ngambi' indu'). As they proceed and return, gongs are beaten so that no omen bird will be heard. The man does not go along for this is a time for the ritual union of the two kin-groups. The parents eat and drink together, ritually claiming one another as relative, ngambu' isan. Thenceforth they will address their child's parents-in-law as isan, a special term of familiarity between them expressing the interdependence between their kin-groups which they recognize. After much festivity, the girl is taken to the man's home. The climax to the marriage ritual is in the ceremonial splitting of the areca nut (melah pinang)[16] by two prosperous adults to assure

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[16] Alli Majang's Melah Pinang, Kuching, Borneo Literature Bureau, 1962, gives a thorough account of Iban ritual, beginning with a discussion of proscribed relations and followed by an account of the procedures followed in arranging Iban marriages, ending with a brief chapter on legal aspects of divorce (sarak).

585 health, wealth and many children for the couple. A successful union is further insured with a prayer spoken as a cock is waved over the head of the couple who are seated on a large gong. On the fourth day following the Gawai Mĕlah Pinang, the couple pay a visit (nyundang pinang, take [591] the areca nut) to the home of the bride. After a visit of three nights, the couple takes up residence with either the bride's or groom's family, according to their previous agreement.

585 Although Christian churches claim a combined constituency of 197 more than 20,000 converts among the Iban, relatively few Christian Ibans 797 marry according to church rituals. A majority of those who do so are young, educated Ibans, or the children of parents who consider the way of the church the way of progress (jalai pemansang), expressing thereby an orientation away from traditional Iban culture and an adaptation to new values. Few Christian Ibans marry according to the ritual of the church because it still is strange (lain), the regulations for giving notice and posting banns are time-consuming and troublesome, and the brief Christian ceremony isn't satisfying (enda' nyamai). Therefore, when young people do marry within the church, not uncommonly there are traditional ceremonies held also in the longhouse. It is unlikely, given the strangeness and difficulties in arranging the church ritual, that many Ibans will give up the more traditional ones described above.

585 In summary, marriage is a third way through which entrance is 592 gained to the bilik-family, and results in one spouse's commitment of

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585 592 labor or resources to the other's bilik, though not necessarily abandoning absolutely responsibility to his own bilik.

6. Incorporation

592 587 A fourth way by which individuals become members of a bilik-family is through the principle of incorporation. Incorporation occurs under two conditions. First, when a widowed or divorced woman remarries and takes up residence in her second husband's bilik, she may bring with her a child by her former husband. Technically, this child has no rights in the new bilik-family, but occasionally, the child will be granted full jural membership with the same rights as any other child born to his mother and step-father. For example, in Rumah Nyala, Gambus and her son, Minggu, took up residence with her brother, Ganai, in Bilik No. 5 after her divorce. Subsequently, she married Gelau and Minggu was incorporated into the new bilik-family, as the heir to Gelau.

592 848 A second condition under which incorporation occurs is in the case of illegitimacy. Not uncommonly, young girls who receive suitors become pregnant and, if several young men have been entertained by the same girl, all will refuse to admit paternity, and to marry the girl. In such cases, if the girl does not abort, there is no alternative for the girl's parents but to incorporate the illegitimate child (anak ampang) into their own [183] bilik. Offerings are made, after which a pig is slain to expiate any guilt from the family, and the child is said to claim the pig as father (be-apai ka babi). In the event that a child is born out of marriage

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592 out of the longhouse, the child cannot be brought into the longhouse
848 until offerings have been made and a pig slaughtered to protect the
[783] members of the community from the wrath of the spirits. The stigma of illegitimacy is a strong one among the Iban, for the fear of supernatural displeasure over possible incestuous relations. One of the primary reasons for tabooing the farms (ngemali umai) for three days after they have been fired is the fear that a illegitimate child will walk over the new farm, thereby causing a crop failure.

Summary

592 The bilik-family is the fundamental unit of Iban society, and entrance is achieved through birth, adoption, marriage or incorporation. A person is a jural member of only one bilik-family at a single point in history, though he may be related to and bear responsibilities towards more than one. The bilik-family is a kin-based corporate group, recognizing its own set of taboos, ascribing status to its members. The genealogical composition of the bilik-family changes over time, as members more in and out, depending upon their circumstances. The freedom of attachment or detachment of members is related to the highly valued mobility which is a cardinal feature of Iban social organization.

KIN RELATIONS

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611 While the bilik-family is the basic unit of Iban society, it also is part of a widely ramifying bilateral kinship system. Iban social organization tends to be open-ended, permitting of descent, attachment and inheritance through both males and females. Social groupings may be expanded or contracted depending upon relative needs and opportunities. In times of crisis, scarity and instability, kin-ties are activated and the diversity of relations exploited.

The flexibility and non-exclusive characteristics of Iban society are apparent in the contractual relationships which can be activated and broken as situations change. There is an absence of unilineal ascription and exclusion by descent, and a lack of sharp division between kin and non-kin. These features are important for an appreciation of the high incidence of mobility among the Iban, and for the relative ease with which they attach themselves to kinsmen, friends or even casual acquaintances in both longhouse and pasar.

A. Descent

611 Iban social organization is marked by an absence of unilineality and is characterized by ambilineal descent. Just as descent is traced through both males and females, so attachment is permitted through members

611 of both sexes. Descent may be traced through males in one generation and females in the next, ties with ancestral members of either sex being reference points for definition of contemporary relationships.

592 We have noted in the last chapter the mobility of members of the Iban bilik-family, to which members may attach themselves as they need, or detach themselves when more advantageous opportunities are found. For example, Mayah's son, Noel, returned with his family to his mother's bilik when unemployed, and left again when he took up a new position in

611 Sibu. Through the practice of ambilineal descent, the Iban allow for flexibility in organization, and the movement of members between units of the society. This structural plasticity is important and is a means by which kinship and kin-terms are extended to non-kinsmen, while real kinsmen are dropped when they no longer participate in the activities of the group.[1]

602 Through this structural plasticity, affines and even non-kinsmen
608 of other ethnic groups are assimilated to the kin-group through common residence and participation in socioeconomic and ritual activities. For example, Ili (Bilik No. 30) and Geranding (Bilik No. 33) of Rumah Nyala, are Melanau and Memaloh, respectively. In discussing relations in Rumah

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[171] [1]The aphorism of the Yakan of the Philippines, "When i.. sight, a kinsman; out of sight, discarded trash," has its parallel in the Iban expression, Jauh di mata, jauh di ati (Far from sight, far from heart).

602 Nyala, however, both men were described initially as members of the
608 larger kin-group. Only after considerable questioning did the fact of their different ethnic backgrounds emerge, so completely have they both been accepted as kaban.

608 The tradition of ritualized relations among non-kinsmen permits the extension of a fictional kin-network between the persons involved, and beyond the members who can actually define their relations. Given the principles of ambilineal descent and bilateral attachment, such definitions are secondary to qualities of friendship and frequency of contact.

612 B. The Bilateral Kindred

Freeman has written that,

> "in Iban society there is no semblance of any sort of unilateral, exogamous descent group of the type usually described as a lineage or clan. Instead, every individual belongs to an extensive bilateral group which may be termed a kindred. By kindred, I mean to denote that cognatic category which embrace all of an individual's father's kin and all of his (or her) mother's kin."

The Iban kindred is not a descent group, in the sense that it is ancestor-oriented and has corporate functions of the type described for unilinear descent groups by Fortes (1953) or for bilateral descent groups by Eggan (1960). Rather, as Murdock has described it (1960:1964), the kindred is an ego-centered group, being activated on certain occasions, such as the major events of birth, marriage, and death. Contrary to the distinctions made by Freeman (1961), who would exclude all affinal relations from the kindred, the Iban does include affines and, in practice,

A, [Not in bibliography; apparently "The structure of unilineal descent groups", Amer Anth., 55: 17-41--Analyst]

612 non-kinsmen. Thus, for example, both Ili and Geranding are included in all the major events at Rumah Nyala.

Again, as Freeman notes,

> "a kindred, by its very nature is an uncircumscribed group, and one cannot define its limits by any kind of precise boundary."

612 829 Indeed, unlike the consensus reached by his informants, who agreed that kaban are closer than juru, the more than two score of Iban whom I asked about the kindred were of a contrary opinion. About one-half agreed that the two phrases, suku-juru and kaban-belayan, are synonymous, and cited the expressions as occurring almost interchangeably in sampi (prayers). A majority of the others agreed that there is a distinction, and that suku-juru are closer to Ego than are kaban-belayan. As Freeman himself writes,

> "'Kaban, olih musut, enda damping, udah entara' ('Kindred are reckoned through genealogies, they are not near, there has been a gap')",

there is a recognized distance between Ego and the kaban. The word juru is of Sanskrit origin and means "wife," and the suku has the additional meaning of "one-quarter." According to the majority of those who favored the term suku-juru in reference to the bilateral kindred, they stated that the phrase connotes kin-ties originating with fraternal grandfathers. The generally indefinite use of kaban to denote to any group of people tends to lend support to those who argue that the suku-juru are closer than the amorphous kaban-belayan.

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612 Semantics aside, however, the very vagueness of the boundaries of the kindred is an important aspect of the web of social ties by which the Iban defines his relationships and negotiates his social roles. For, as we already have noted, this uncircumscribed network may be expanded or [173] contracted as necessary. In travelling to a new area, one of the first activities in which an Iban will engage is to define his relations vis-a-vis his hosts by tracing back his genealogy until a common tie- kinsman or friend, real or putative- is found. This is aptly described as "weaving the fishnet" (nyambong jala or betusut, to trace genealogies). For example, when I took an extended trip up the Mukah River with an Iban who had never been in the area, in each of the 18 longhouses which we visited, the Iban nyambong jala with the tuai rumah or some other senior member of the community, and in each house, he found some tie which served to provide a tie with members of the host community.

173 The interest in and emphasis on genealogies, which the Ibans sometimes can trace back more than thirty generations (cf. Sandin 1967:99-100), is supportive of Salisbury's hypothesis (1956) that genealogies of great depth tend to occur particularly in tribal groups whose history has been one of migration and predation. The keeping of such genealogies is a means for effective integration in a social system in which cultural ecological adaptation has placed a premium on the individual, and in which the system is comprised of widely ramifying units.

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[585] Genealogists (tukang tusut) were highly respected and important individuals in Iban society, and were called upon to trace out relation-
[193] ships between every couple at the time of their marriage. Few of the genealogists remain in this District, their role having given way to such institutions as schools and the Land and Survey Department.

C. Ceremonial Relationships and Fictional Kin-Ties

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571 Encompassing the bilateral kindred and extending well beyond it is a set of ties built upon ceremonial relationships. These ties between both kinsmen and non-kinsmen allow for exploitation by all participants as they have need. The relationships are contractual arrangements which operate upon a strict principle of reciprocity between the individuals and groups involved.

796 The Iban gawai (ceremonies) cover all the major (and minor) events of moment to the Iban. It is possible to enumerate more than 60 such gawai, ranging from Sandau Hari, observed because of someone's dream, to Gawai Antu, held to commemorate the dead. The gawai require accumulation of vast amounts of food and drink, often much more than any single long-house community can raise alone.

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628 After a community has decided to hold a gawai, members of the host community visit those houses in which they have kinsmen and friends, and with whom they have entered into a ceremonial relationship. They inform their relatives and friends that the gawai will be held, and then ask for eggs (for smoking), chickens and pigs, and other foodstuffs. The relatives

796 and friends are invited to the gawai, and some come a day or two before
431 the main ceremonies to help with the slaughter of the livestock and with
628 the cooking.

Ceremonial relationships of this kind are of two types, both of
796 which are based upon the principles of reciprocity and proximity. In the
571 first type, sapengabang[2] (or sapemakai, "of one food"), houses which are
628 closest to one another enter into relationships involving all of the members. It is unthinkable to skip a nearby house in favor of one farther away, hence, every house up to an arbitrary limit is included as sapengabang, and all members of the house are automatically invited, so long as the reciprocal relationship is maintained. For example, all of the longhouses of Emperan Tekalong and Engkalat are included in ceremonial relationships with Rumah Nyala.

> "Formerly, we were sapengabang with the people of Penasu, but no longer. We just include a few of their members when we have a gawai, and they also include a few of us."

796 The second type of relationship, indicated in Ganai's remarks, is
574 known as ngabas ungkup, and means literally "to visit (check up on) one's
571 share." Thus, when plans are being made for a gawai, the tuai rumah asks each person in turn whom he will invite besides those who stand in

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[2] Sapengabang literally means "one brotherhood," and is derived from abang, "brother," or ngabang," to attend a gawai," sa-, a prefix meaning "one," and the substantive form peng-.

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796 the sapengabang relationship. The members of the host house indicate the
574 names of kinsmen and friends from more distant longhouses, i.e., beyond
571 the circle including the former type of relationship, whom they will invite. In this second type of arrangement, only selected individuals from the farther longhouses are invited, but again on a basis of reciprocity.

> "If we are invited, then we must return the invitation when we have a gawai. This keeps up until one of us neglects to invite the other, thereby breaking off the relationship."

Unlike the arrangement obtaining between those who stand in sapengabang relationship, in which families and communities are bound to render aid to their partners as requested, guests in the latter arrangement of ngabas ungkup do not contribute goods and labor. However, at a gawai, after the guests have been ceremonially received into the longhouse, they are expected, in the spirit of good fellowship, to make some monetary contribution towards the expenses incurred by their hosts. It is anticipated that when the roles are reversed, the latter will reciprocate.

796 Both types of ceremonial relationships are important in that they
571 develop dyadic ties between both communities and individuals who contri-
628 bute foodstuffs, labor or money reciprocally. In the first kind of arrangement, a strong feeling of solidarity is built upon the mutual help
[574] and interdependence between the nearer longhouse communities. In the second, ties between kinsmen and friends are maintained through the exchange of visits between gawai.

D. Kinship Classification and Behavior Patterns

601 Iban kinship terminology is generally consistent with the more important relationships and patterns of behavior obtaining within the social structure. Terms of reference for kinsmen are of the Eskimo type, and terms of address are of the Hawaiian type (Murdock 1949: 224ff), as presented in Tables 29 and 30.

562 Iban women enjoy equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance, management of property, initiating divorce, and in becoming pun bilik. Equal responsibilities fall to them for providing for the bilik-family, for whereas men are freer to travel and earn wages, the bulk [601] of the farm work falls to women. Consistent with this is the fact that in Ego's generation, there are no terminological distinctions between siblings and cousins of either sex, and none throughout the kinship terminology based upon the sex of the speaker.

602 [431] Relatives on both father's and mother's sides are potentially equally important to Ego. All are expected to make some token gift at the infant's first visit. All are invited to events of moment in his life. If he practices the cultural norm and marries a cousin, she may be from 601 either parent's side. Thus, Iban kinship terminology is bilaterally symmetrical, with terms of address and reference being the same for cross- and parallel-cousins (address: menyadi'; reference: petunggal); for father's brother and mother's brother (address: apai; reference: aya'); and for father's sister and mother's sister (address: indai; reference: ibu').

TERMS OF REFERENCE

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TERMS OF ADDRESS

582 Marriage between members of adjacent generations is proscribed,
601 such unions being considered tantamount to incest between parents and children. (However, as we have noted already, rituals exist to be activated to get around this difficulty.) Consistent with this view of relationships is the use of generational terminology. Within the bilateral kindred, all members of Ego's parents' generation are either father or mother to Ego, who in turn is child (anak) to the senior adjacent generation.

1. Parents and Children

842 Children are much desired by Ibans, for the pleasure they may bring while young and for the security they represent to parents in their old age. We have described the practice of adoption by which, in the more traditional situation, a childless couple will try to adopt the child of a brother or sister or, failing that, the child of a friend who may have more children than he is able to support.

853 Infants are nursed immediately upon their crying. The system of scheduled feeding is unthinkable for, as one Iban mother said, "An infant's
854 stomach doesn't count time" (Perut anak mit enda' ngitong jam). Infants and young children rarely are left to themselves, either being held and fondled, carried on the back in a sarong, or, when sleeping, placed in a sarong suspended on a spring nearby one of the parents.

855 When the child is old enough to be left by the mother, he will be left, along with other children in the community, in charge of an older adult. The older man or woman is available in case an accident occurs or

855 a fight breaks out. But, his supervision is of necessity casual and limited, for the children play over the ruai, on the ground around the longhouse, and in the water if it is near the house and they know how to swim. Though threatened with punishment, they quickly perceive that such threats are idle and meaningless, for only very rarely is a threat enforced.

603 Generally, the older adults are most permissive, a relaxed and happy relationship existing between those of the grandparental generation and

[437] their young wards. For their baby-sitting, they are given a part of the produce and other foodstuffs acquired by the young children's parents.

855 [858] Parents and members of their generation, also, tend to be indulgent of children, guided by the principle that "children don't know anything until they are ten years old." Generally, parents are indulgent of their children, and though they may reprimand them, don't carry out any punishments. On half-a-dozen different occasions, I heard children praise their parents with the expressions, "My father never scolded me" (Enda' kala' nganu' apai aku), and "My father never took his hand to me" (Apai aku enda' kala' ngenatai ka jari). Parents explain their easy-going ways with their children in light of the affection and support they want to keep from the children. They dare not be harsh with the children for fear that none will live with them and care for them in their old age.

593 For all of the apparent laxness in parent-child relations, however, a number of tensions exist. Sometimes in discussions, parents open up to admit their despair over their strong-willed children, and one of the most

593 frequent topics of women's meetings in the urban area is, "How can I
[871] make my child obey me?" A number of parents have lamented over the effects of education on their children, saying that because the youngsters had reached From Three or Form Five, they refused to help any longer with simple chores, such as feeding livestock or getting firewood. In the Sibu pasar, parents fret over children's activities, over which they have virtually no control.

598 That the tensions and strains between members of adjacent gener-
561 ations is not a new phenomenon is apparent from the numerous expressions in Iban oral literature - folk stories, myths and proverbs - through which are projected these intergenerational conflicts.[3] Nor are these hostilities one-sided, for children resent even the mild restraints offered by parents, and the conflict of interests between parents and adult children is one of the principal causes of bilik partition.

593 Hundreds of young people have come to Sibu because of disparate
166 values with their parents, to seek cash-employment, and just because Sibu
369 is a more exciting place than the longhouse community. It is true that
561 the education system, particularly at higher levels, has a disorienting

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[539] [3] The myth, "Kumang Betelu'" (Kumang Lays Eggs) has a number of latent Oedipal connotations. The man-god Keling notices his wife, Kumang, surreptitiously going into a rice-bin to lay eggs. Angered and embarrassed over such an abnormal mode of conception, he takes his spear and pierces each of the seven eggs Kumang has laid. Instead of killing the children - all boys - he merely blinds them and, after their birth, takes them into the jungle to lose them. They are given medicine by an antu, subsequently kill an Antu Gerasi Papa (father-figure) and after many perilous journeys, are reunited to and reconciled with their parents.

effect upon Iban young people, so that they disdain life in the longhouse and, if at all possible, take up urban domicile.[4] "Just so they have cash in the pocket," complained one irate parent, "they don't want to leave the pasar." One young man said in his defense.

> "Our parents don't understand that for us there is no future in the longhouse. You can't get anywhere farming, and there are too many demands upon you to allow you to accumulate anything. The whole longhouse system is cut through with local jealousies."

Members of the senior generation criticize young people who, to them, aimlessly wander the pasar in search of work.

> "They form gangs, Api' Bayat, and work as con men. Young men work as pimps (beroka) and young girls as prostitutes."

Several older adult residents of Sibu pasar used the expression of the young people who have come to the town, Sida' idup di puchok tunggul ("They live at the end of the stump").

In analyzing the relationships and behavior of parents and children, these must be seen in the perspective of the larger society which long has valued the independence of the individual and his achievements. Of necessity brought about by the absence of parents during the day-time, children learn to fend for themselves and their siblings at an early age.

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[4] A senior government official observed that while development policies encourage the return of young people to rural areas, there are few incentives to attract them in the longhouse community.

Older brothers and sisters care for younger ones, and most children learn to cook at least rice by age ten. Parents wash the clothing of the very young, but by age seven or eight, children begin to assume responsibility for washing out their few play-clothers and eventually each individual washes his own clothes when he bathes. The young Iban is taught early the necessity and value of independence.

The absence of physical restraint and the assurance of an approving response to most of his activities, encourages the Iban to be a self-reliant and confident individual. No greater offense can be committed against the Iban than bringing him to shame (malu), and members of the society learn means both of eschewing speech and actions which may shame another, and of rationalizing any feelings of shame or guilt which they may have. A hierarchical order forms in which hostilities are exercised and expressed against weaker members in the form of teasing[5] and scolding, and a solidarity develops between the majority-strong vis-a-vis the minority-weak. This solidarity supports the child against elders, and he finds that the opinion of peers is to be more highly valued than any rebuffs from his parents. After all, he spends much more time with peers than with parents, and he quickly ceases to be dependent on his parents, who, in turn are afraid of alienating the child.

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[5]Asked why a group of teen-agers incessantly teased one member of their number, a young girl replied, Enda' nyamai nadai orang ditundi' ("It's not pleasant if there is no one to tease").

123 In addition to his orientation to independence, the Iban also has inculcated the cultural norm of achievement. We have described the important status of the pioneer and the benefits of his achievements which 404 accured to his descendants. The institution of pejalai has required that 884 young men prove their manhood by travel, overcoming difficulties, and re- 554 turning with trophies: formerly human heads, now sewing machines, gold, outboard motors, and cash. A man is not a man until he has achieved some success through travel.

593 Thus, while Iban parents may lament and despair over their wil- 867 ful children, "the child is father to the man," and Iban children are ordering their conduct according to the patterns of behavior, with emphases upon independence, individualism and achievement, which they have learned from infancy. And to each, in turn, his time will come.

2. Siblings and Cousins

601 The Iban have a Kordofanian or undifferentiated type of sibling terminology (Murdock 1968). No distinction is made according to age or sex, and both brothers and sisters are called by the term menyadi' short- [867] ened in speech to nadi'). There is no segragation of siblings in late [593] childhood, the incest taboo being so thoroughly inculcated in the socialization process that incest between siblings is an unthinkable and abhorrent idea.

Cousins are distinguished from siblings terminologically, but no distinction is made between cross-cousins and parellel cousins. The

601 terminology is of the Eskimo type, all cousins being called petunggal
605 (shortened in speech to unggal). All cousin relationships are marked by informality and in address, cousins commonly are called by the term madi'. Relationships and patterns of behavior between siblings and cousins tend to coalesce when persons are members of the same house, hence our consideration of the two groups together.

593 Ties begween siblings are strong and feelings of affection as
855 well as actions of protection express these ties. A child of seven or
857 eight may be given the responsibility of caring for a younger sibling, as soon as the parents feel that he can be left in charge of his brother or sister. Older siblings not only must protect the younger ones from harm, falling, or cutting himself with a knife, but also prepare his milk and do the cooking for themselves if the parents are away at the fields all day. A most common sight is that of an older child with a younger sibling riding his hip, or in a sarong over his back.

593 From childhood onward, sibling relations are characterized by
857 solidarity and mutual support. Siblings are members of the same play
[524] groups which, at earlier ages, are undifferentiated by sex. Brothers and sisters play chase (gagai), cross-catch (asin), collect fruit and fish
[526] together. Water-sports such as swimming and underwater chase and playing with homemade longboats, complete with metal propellors powered by rubber
[562] bands, are entered into with enthusiasm. By age eight or so, girls tend to play house and other more feminine activities, and boys sharpen their

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593 throwing abilities by competing in throwing ironwood tops spun off bark-
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562 cloth twine, homemade spears and stones.

Dancing is a favorite pastime. Children begin to practice the
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535 traditional ngajat as early as age five, and many quickly develop a proficiency of which they are modestly proud, "reluctantly" performing for visitors or on festival occasions. In several longhouses, I have seen dancing classes held in the evening, when young adults studied the tuis (twist), rumba, and ago-go.

593 If those who play together stay together, neoteny is an important
857 factor in the solidarity which mark sibling relations. Although we have described the Iban as highly individualistic, yet there is an intense loyalty between siblings to one another. Older brothers and sisters who farm or earn wages pay towards the expenses of younger ones, contributing to school fees, buying them clothes, and giving them pocket money.

593 This feature of sibling unity endures throughout the lives of the Iban. Enchul, the successful farmer-cum-businessman of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, once talked about staking his brother with money for opening a shophouse on three different occasions. Each time, he said, his brother lost his business because of poor management. Asked why he continued to help him in this way, Enchul replied with a mixture of astonishment and annoyance, Ka' enda', tak menyadi' aku ("Even if I wanted not to, he's my brother").

We already have described the immediate acceptance that siblings know awaits them in a brother's or sister's bilik. After Gambus divorced

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593 her husband, she lived with Ganai, her brother (Bilik No. 5, Rumah Nyala), until she remarried. Pengarah Chundi anak Resa entirely supported his brother, Kudi, who was an invalid, until the latter's death.

593 369 166 The strong ties between siblings provide one of the principal means for in-migrants to the pasar to make the transition from rural to urban life. When an Iban establishes residence in the pasar, he is in a convenient position, where his kinsmen are concerned, to serve as housekeeper and, in some cases, employment bureau. The increased affluence, improved transportation, and the magnetism of the pasar have drawn hundreds of Ibans to Sibu. And, whereas previously they stayed with Chinese patrons or Malay partners, as soon as a kinsmen rents a room in the pasar, he is sought out for hospitality. Also, he is expected to keep his eyes open and his ears fast to the grapevine for any job-openings that may come up, and immediately inform his brothers and sisters.

797 829 593 One very ambitious and enterprising Iban man has made it to the United States where he now is studying. The basis upon which he achieved this feat was by appeal to the fictional fraternity of Christian brotherhood. The entrance of thousands of Ibans into the church has been in part due to their interpretation of the ecclesiastical community into familial terms. Thus, priests and religious workers are apai or madi' ("father" or "brother"), depending on the relative age of the persons involved. And the church, like the Iban family, is expected to help support and fulfil the other functions common to those who stand in sibling relations.[6]

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[6] During a recent service in the Sibu Iban Methodist Church, of 43 worshippers, only three were not employees or relatives of employees of the church.

797 829 593 Church, and government for that matter, are looked by many Ibans as analogs of the benevolent fraternalism which marks their sibling ties.

595 177 We have described already the few incidences of sororal polygamy which have occurred in this District. These represent practices which deviate from the social norms, and probably may be attributed to Chinese 589 and Malay influences. Of much more common practice is the sororate, in which a sister marries her late sister's husband. Although no cases occurred in the three houses on which concentrated studies were made, more than three dozen cases were listed within this District. No instances of the levirate, however, were found.

582 605 Because of the preference for marriages between cousins between the range of first and fifth degrees, a further note must be added. There is no pattern of avoidance between cousins, and the remarks above about siblings generally apply. Several Ibans, both from upriver areas and downriver areas, stated that marriage between patrilateral parallel cousins is tantamount to marriage between siblings, hence proscribed. While this may be the rule in some areas, it does not apply generally, for there is a large number of cases of marriage between the children of two brothers.

3. Avuncular and Nepotic Relative

601 In the first ascending generation the Iban have a lineal type of reference terminology. Both father's brother and mother's brother are called *aya'*, and father's sister and mother's brother are called *ibu'*.

601 The address terminology is generational, both father's brother and mother's brother being addressed as apai, father's sister and mother's sister as indai. Sibling's child is referred to as anak madi', and addressed by terms which vary according to the sex of the child. All children of the first descending generation are addressed as anak. In addition, brother's son and sister's son may be addressed as dum, uat, igat or iang, all with the meaning of "sonny." Brother's daughter and sister's daughter also may be called endu' and endun, with meaning equivalent to "daughter."

604 The relationships between avuncular and nepotic relatives tend to be close and affectionate, or similar to those between parents and their own children. The affection between these sets of relatives permits the use of language which, if used in any other situation, would be subject to a fine. Not infrequently, when brother's or sister's young child visits Ego, the latter will "make glad over him" (begaga ka ia) with the words, Jaum aku, ulun aku ("My captive, my slave").[7] The use of such coarse expressions is accompanied by nuzzling, kissing, and bouncing the youngster and, if a small boy, fondling his penis.

Young people frequently seek out parents' siblings for any help that they may render, and it is expected that avuncular relatives will

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[7]The only other occasion when I have heard such coarse language used as an expression of affection is between friends who haven't seen one another for a long time, and one may say to the other, "May you be eviscerated and your stomach pickled" (Anak ka perut de diperuti', digerami').

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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604 respond to any requests no matter how great the inconvenience of sacrifice. In the pesar students board with one of their parents' siblings who is expected to house and feed them with or without compensation. School leavers also put up with avuncular relatives while looking for employment and frequently stay on, boarding for the cost of their food. In one situation with which I am familiar, an Iban family with four children of their own have living with them the wife's sister's daughters who are in school, wife's brother's son who is employed by Government, and husband's sister's son who is employed by the Police. The husband also is employing his brother's daughter as his clerk. Nepotism among the Iban is not a vice; rather, it is a means for mutual aid through activation of kin-ties for the fullest exploitation of every economic opportunity.

588 604 We have described already the proscription that forbids marriage between members of adjacent generations, especially between avuncular and nepotic relatives. Such marriages are not uncommon, however. We have noted that in Rumah Nyala, Aup, two such cases occurred in which men married their brother's daughters. In another case with which I was involved, a man wanted to marry a woman who stood in the relation of ibu' to him. After long discussions, the pengulu and tuai rumah of the area agreed that the marriage could take place, provided that they went through the ritual (Berumsor or Besapat ka Ali')[8] and paid the token fine, pelasi' manoa, to all the residents of the area in order to keep the area "cool".

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[8] In contrast to the Iban of the Kapit District who apparently make no distinctions between sisters-in-law on the basis of age differences (cf. Freeman 1960:82), those of the Sibu District do so.

000 menoa, to all the residents of the area in order to keep the area "cool."

4. Affines

606 In the last chapter, we described the importance of affines as
607 members of the bilik-family. To repeat, 14 of the 33 tuai bilik of Rumah Nyala are affines. Almost one-half of the principal farm-workers and one-quarter of the wage-earners in Rumah Nyala are affines. The relative importance of affines is common to all Iban communities.

Affinal ties are for all functional purposes homologous with cognatic ties. Freeman's statement that,

> "affinal relationships may be said to reduplicate in their significance the basic cognatic relationships of Iban society"

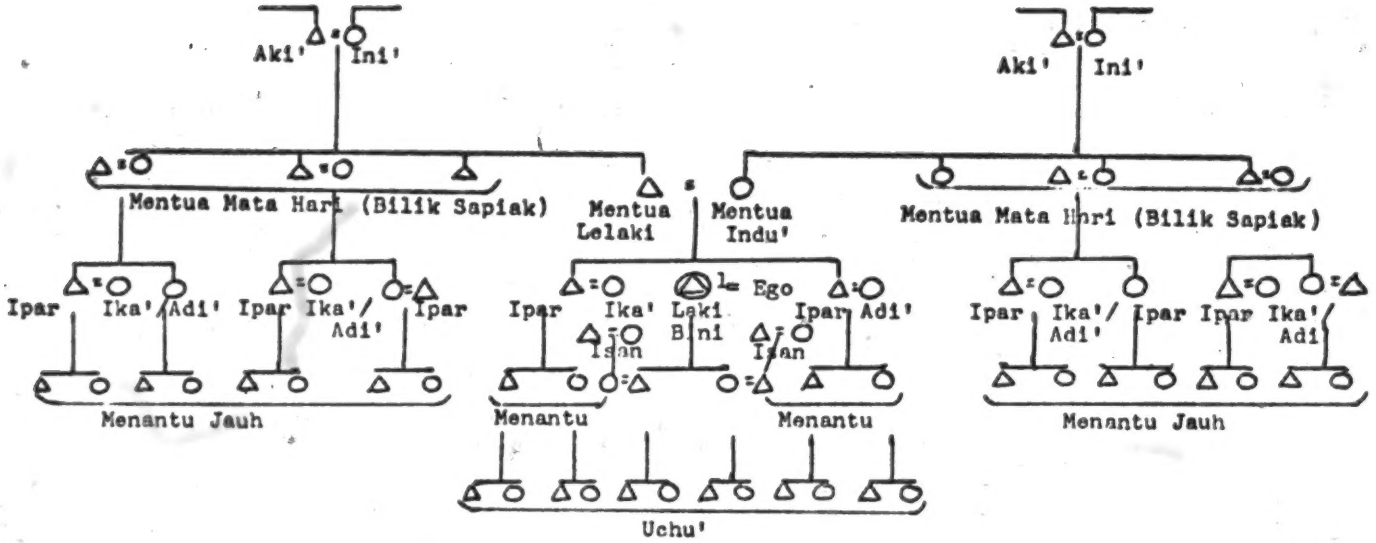
601 accurately describes the situation between affines. Brothers-in-law
[607] (ipar) and sisters-in-law (ika' for older brother's wife, adi' for younger brother's wife) are the relative equivalents of siblings (menyadi') and
[606] cousins (petunggal). Parents-in-law (mentua)are considered as parents to their children-in-law (menantu), and the terms apai indai are used in address to the former, anak to the latter.

606 Two types of avoidance mark the relationships between affines. The first type is name avoidance of the mentua by the menantu. "It is taboo to say your parents-in-law's names (Mali nyebut penama mentua), is commonly stated on this point. By my observations, this taboo is rigorously held to in more remote and traditional communities. But, when pressed to state their parents-in-law's names for information required by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 319]

TERMS OF REFERENCE AND ADDRESS

AFFINES



[1] Or, Apai Tuai/Indai Tuai, lit., "Old Father" or "Old Mother"

606 Government or church, other Ibans do so, some with obvious discomfort, other more readily.

> "The point is one of respect, not that you can't say the name of your parents-in-law, but that you avoid saying it in jest or unless necessary."

Sexual relations between mentua and menantu are rigorously prohibited, but no avoidance other than names is practiced. I would argue that the rather casual relationships and behavior between mentua and menantu and the absence of any form of avoidance other than the mentua's names is related to the ties which are homologous with parents and children. I have never heard of mentua and menantu having sexual relations, and those Iban whom I have questioned about this possibility responded with shock and a singular reply which may be interpreted as, "Unthinkable!"

Commenting on the taboo and avoidance of one another by mentua and menantu, one man stated that,

> "technically, as a son-in-law, I am supposed to avoid my parents-in-law: not use the same towel that they do nor drink from the same glass. But how can you? We live in the same bilik. We share things together. That's why I come to think of my wife's parents as my own father and mother."

The second type of avoidance, however, is more rigorously enforced and practiced. It is based upon respect and deference that must be given by children-in-law to their parents-in-law's siblings, termed mentua bilik sapiak ("parents-in-law on the other side") or, alternatively, mentua mata hari ("parents-in-law of the sun"). At the time of marriage, each spouse is appraised of those persons who stand in this relationship

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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606 to him or her. When one marries and visits a house in which in-laws are living, the mentua mata hari either introduce themselves or are made known to the menantu. Upon inquiry as to why the avoidance of the mentua mata hari not only tended to stricter in theory but also in practice, I was told that,

> "whereas the mentua are like our own parents, the mentua bilik sapiak are different and potential trouble-makers. That's the reason we call them mentua mata hari, for like the sun (mata hari), they can be not (angat) and cause us trouble."

693 The most important affinal relationship is that of husband and wife. While traditionally the Iban have maintained a cultural norm for parentially-arranged marriages, in fact, as we have seen in the last chapter, most unions are the result of couples' own selection. Overwhelmingly, Iban marriages are monogamous, and husband (laki) and wife (bini)[9] share responsibilities in acquisition of food and other goods, as well as in the arrangements of labor and the making of decisions.

593 362 000 The husband-wife relationship is one between equals, both sharing jural rights within the bilik. There is no place for one telling the other what to do or what not to do.[10] According to the pattern of labor division,

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[9] Sometimes addressed, half in jest, as apai tuai ("old father") and indai tuai ("old mother").

[10] A source of irritation and conflict between them when they disagree with one another's actions but are helpless to do much about them.

According to the pattern of labor division,
593 for example, in Rumah Nyala, the wife performs all but the heaviest tasks
562 on the farm, providing the family's rice through her labor. The husband
462 most usually is the wage-earner, supplementing an inadequate rice supply, buying other foodstuffs, clothing, and other necessities and luxuries the
593 family can afford. Decisions about where to farm, application for govern-
562 ment schemes for aid in pepper, rubber, cocoa or padi, and about the bilik-economy are usually made by the husband after discussion with his wife and other members of the family. Both husband and wife enjoy a considerable
593 amount of freedom in economic pursuits. The husband may use some (or
465 sometimes all) of his wages in the popular recreation of cockfighting (nyabong). Because he has earned the money, the wife rarely will complain even if he loses it. The wife, on the other hand, may make baskets to sell in the pasar. Money earned in this way is hers to keep.

586 Divorce may be initiated by either the husband or wife. Property which each brought to the marriage still is possessed by the one who brought it. However, all property and goods acquired during the time of the marriage is divided equally between the couple. This fact exerts pressure almost directly proportionate to the prosperity of the couple to maintain a stable marriage. It is important not to take this too far, because divorces do occur even among relatively prosperous couples. But, as one senior Iban remarked,

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"Formerly, divorce was much more common among us. I, myself, have had a number of wives. But then, we realized that we can never get ahead this way. Marry one year, divide our goods the next, and so on. So, it's better to stay together."

Summary

602 Iban society is strongly oriented to kin-ties in both rural and urban areas. The Iban kin-relations tend to be flexible and non-exclusive, so that groupings may be formed as needed or not. Kinship terms and behavior patterns show a general consistency between the principals of both cognatic and affinal kinsmen.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

A. The Longhouse Community

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178 A majority of the Ibans of the Sibu District live in relatively permanent settlements, the most characteristic feature being the longhouse. As previously noted, several factors have influenced the transition from shifting cultivation to permanent settlement, among them the planting and development of rubber gardens, the shift from hill padi to wet padi and the possibilities of continuous cultivation of farm land or cultivation with shorter periods of fallow through fertilization, and restrictions on migration owing to population pressures.

361 Of 37 longhouses surveyed, the oldest is Rumah Salleh of Bawang Assan, which was built in 1920.[1] Two houses included in the sample were begun in 1970: Rumah Bandang of Pasai and Rumah Luat of Durin. Several other houses have been begun recently, and the average age of the houses in the sample is 13.5 years (see Table 32).[A]

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[622] [377] [1] Rumah Salleh was founded in 1920 but as with all longhouses, has been added onto at different times. In 1961, the ruai of Tuai Rumah Salleh was rebuilt of hardwood planks which later were shellaced, and his bilik was wired for lights and a refrigerator.

[A] [The author apparently means Table 31 on the following page--Analyst]

TABLE 31

Length, Age and Construction of Selected Longhouses

Longhouse	Area	Units	Year Built	Age at Time of Survey	Partly Built by Tukang*	Dapor Separate from Bilik	Separated Storage Area
Empaling	Assan	8	1966	4 years	X	X	X
Ringkai	Lubok Guchi	18	1950	20 years	X**	X	X
Amboi	Nunggang	15	1958	12 years	X	X	
Banta	Aup	14	1962	8 years	X	X	
Nyala	Aup	33	1956	14 years	X	X	X
Muyang	Batu Wong	31	1940	30 years		X	
Salleh	Bawang Assan	20	1920	50 years+	X	X	X
Lun	Bidut	7	1939	31 years	X	X	X
Berandah	Durin	61	1942	28 years	X	X	X
Ibom	Durin Kiba	5	1945	25 years			
Luat	Kiba	4	1970	3 months		X	
Mat	Lawang	11	1949	21 years		X	
Tiang	Melanggan	24	1963	7 years		X	X
Buda	Naman	16	1952	18 years		X	
Bual	Oya Road	9	1970	5 months	X	X	
Adup	Oya Road	8	1966	4 years		X	X
Balan	Bun	12	1961	9 years		X	
Bandang	Bun	15	1970	4 months		X	
Entili	Oya Road	1	1969	1 year	X	X	
Ijau	Oya Road	13++	1949	21 years		X	
Jelian	Bun	6	1960	10 years		X	
Meruan	Oya Road	19	1946	24 years	X	X	
Nyanbang	Oya Road	16+++	1969	1 year	X	X	X
Tush	Oya Road	5	1966	4 years	X	X	

* = professional carpenter

** = tuai rumah's residence built by carpenter, but no others.

\+ = Several sections, including tuai rumah's have been rebuilt by tukang.

++ = in addition to the 13 attenuated units, 14 families are still in separate dwellings.

+++ = all separate.

361 In addition to those factors mentioned above, the permanence of settlements is influenced by other circumstances as well, such as availability of a personally determined adequate water supply, proximity to farm lands, distance from roads and means of communication with other communities and urban areas, and the quality of materials and craftsmanship used in the construction of the longhouse.

Freeman's generalization that,

> "all Iban long-houses are situated on the banks of rivers, or streams, navigable by dug-out canoes,"

361 does not apply to a number of settlements in the Sibu District. In some
312 cases, Ibans have been crowded into areas which, by their own evaluation, are less desirable owing to poor water supplies. For example, at Bukit Penyau, where the Iban longhouses are surrounded by Chinese settlements, the only water supply available for a community of fifteen doors is a small ground-well containing greenish, stagnant water. As opportunities have presented themselves, the Ibans of that community have moved to other sites offering better water.

361 Increasingly, the proximity of farm lands to the longhouse is in-
241 fluencing the settlement patterns of the Ibans. Unlike the peers who practice shifting cultivation, maintaining a permanent longhouse but locating annually in farmhouses (langkau, rumah alau) at some distance from the longhouse, the Ibans of this District infrequently find it necessary to farm so far away from the longhouses that they must spend
000 nights away (bemalam) at the farm. The introduction of the Padi Planting

The introduction of the Padi Planting Scheme by the Agriculture Department has permitted approximately sixty per cent of the Ibans to farm near their longhouses. In several cases where the farms were deemed too far away, the families concerned moved closer to their farms and built a new longhouse as, for instance, in the case of Rumah Nyelang of Ulu Salim.

The longhouse communities of the District are related to the pasar in a variety of ways, as already discussed. These relations are expressed in the increasing frequency of travel between longhouses and the pasar, and the demand of Ibans for ways and means of travel. Whereas prior to the mid-1960's travel was either by water or by bicycle-paths, the construction of the Oya-Durin Road system through the District has effected changes in the means of travel and in the orientation of rural residents. Bus service is available to the Oya and Durin Roads and for those who are willing and able to pay, taxis-licensed and private[2] -travel wherever and whenever they are paid. High-powered motor launches, sometimes misnamed "expresses," ply between Sibu and rural areas, navigating the Rejang, Igan and Leba'an Rivers.

Extension of the road system and the urban connections offered thereby has produced several interesting examples of value change and resettlement by Ibans. When surveyors began laying out the lines for the new road through Ulu Naman, the people of Rumah Buda forcibly blocked the

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[2] Read, "pirate."

361 construction of the road near their house for fear that it would make
178 their longhouse angat ("hot, unhealthy") because new. Reluctantly, the engineers rerouted the road at a distance of one hour's walk from the house. After the road had been completed, the members of Rumah Buda realized the benefits offered by the road: regular transportation to Sibu, greater availability of Government services and goods, and opportunities for more contact with friends and relatives. Consequently, they have abandoned the old longhouse and are building small, individual house along the roadside.[3]

342 A final factor in the permanence of longhouse settlements is re-
361 lated to the amount of money, time and labor invested in the house's con-
[171] struction. Historically, Iban longhouses were not as sturdily constructed as the houses of other indigenous groups, such as the Kayans. The Iban longhouses were constructed of ironwood posts but flooring, walls and
[829] roofing was of less durable materials. The reason offered by the Iban, Anyau Rakit, was that the Iban never expected to occupy the house for more than five or six years before moving on to fell and farm other virgin

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[3]The forcible blocking of the original route was related in a lament by Pengulu Meringgai who reckoned that he lost about M$50,000 due to the rerouting. According to the old plan, the road would have gone through fifty acres of his land, the price of which would have risen to M$1,000 per acre. As it turned out, he, too, had to move in order to live closer to the road.

361 land.[4] We have noted already the significance the Ibans attached to the
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[829] construction of the first house made of durable planks (rumah papan) at Bawang Assan.

Where longhouses are old or built of impermanent materials, they may be abandoned or dismantled. When this occurs, the occupants will move either to a new site if a more favorable one is available, or else build temporary houses (dapor, kitchen) immediately behind the old site on which the new house will be built. In three cases out of ten in which longhouses were abandoned or dismantled, the residents rebuilt on the same site. In the other seven cases, the residents moved to new sites but in no instance more than three miles distance from the former house site. In four of the ten cases, the Ibans did not construct a new longhouse but rather a cluster of individual houses, about which more will be said later.

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241 It must be noted that while the longhouse system may be described as one of relatively permanent residence, the Ibans in some instances return only occasionally to the longhouse. For example, the occupants of Rumah Maruan live in langkau immediately adjacent their rubber gardens, returning to the longhouse only for ceremonial or judicial occasions.

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[178] [4]Dulu' suba' ambis lama' kuat diau lima tauka enam taun, pindah ngiga' menoa baru. Tang, diatu' enda' ulih, orang enggai agi' ("Formerly, the longest people lived in one place would be for five or six years, then move on to look for new country. But, you can't do that now, and the people no longer want to"), Anyau Bakit, interview,22 March, 1971.

361 241 Thus, they spend only one month in each year at the longhouse, and the remainder of the time they reside in their langkau.

B. Rationale for the Longhouse System

361 725 829 Although the origins of the longhouse system are unknown, Ibans questioned on the probable reason for the development of the longhouse system attribute it to three principal functions, which are defensive, ceremonials, and juridical. Every Iban who was asked about the origin of the longhouse system related it to a strategy of defense when head-hunting was still common. Scattered settlements, they said, would have been easy prey for predators, hence the banding together of kin-groups in longhouse communities.

621 796 The ceremonial functions of the longhouse are related to mechanisms activated to express and re-inforce the solidarity of the community, to renew ties with distant kinsmen, and to provide a means of upward social mobility. The times of planning and executing the various gawai involve the entire community: men, women and children. Lengthy discussions are held on the ruai of the tuai rumah and everyone engages in pleasant banter, [574] anticipating the forthcoming event. When a major gawai is carried out, members of each family visit kinsmen to ask eggs for smoking, together with chickens and pigs from relatives who are invited to the gawai, and who will make similar requests from the sponsors in the future. Gift-giving, cooperative labors and the cordial relations which mark the festive occasions provide an opportunity for amicable associations to be recounted and relived in many evening's randau ruai.

000 and relived in many an evening's randau ruai.

423 The longhouse remains the jural residence of its members even
621 though they may be working and residing eleven months of the year in another area. Through maintenance of the jural residence in the longhouse to which he is affiliated, a member retains his share of rights in the communal building site as well as referents to any private land-holdings which may have been divided to him as a member of his natal bilik, or
622 lands which he may have purchased. In the event of land disputes, he will
578 call upon the tuai rumah and tuai bilik to attest to his rights. Other
692 property disputes, inter-familial cases or disagreements between members of different longhouse communities are adjudicated by the tuai rumah or, in the event that he is unable to settle a case to the satisfaction of the parties involved, by the pengulu. Thus, it is recognized that wisdom decrees alignment with a longhouse for support when disputes arise.

Rationale for Longhouse Residence

829 Most Ibans of the senior generation, i.e., forty years and older,
621 agree that the longhouse is the place for Ibans to live. In an interview, this viewpoint was articulated at length by one informant who, ironically, has lived in Sibu since the mid-1950's, while keeping a bilik in his longhouse.

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> "The longhouse is the proper residence. It is there that the young people are socialized, learn the ways of us Iban, and develop respect for our laws and customs (adat chara). Those who haven't lived in the longhouse are not really Ibans - they are a mixture, part Malay, part Chinese, part European, and a little Iban.

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"(According to traditional Iban views) the person who lives alone is Antu Uging-an evil spirit - for he is different, a deviant from other Ibans, else why would he want to live alone. He doesn't share in the life of the longhouse, he doesn't participate in the daily round of activities, and he doesn't accept responsibility for teaching our ways to the younger generation.

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"The Tusun Tunggu Iban ("List of Iban Fines") states specifically that Ibans shall reside in longhouses. But many people no longer pay attention to these laws. For example, the people on Oya Road have no leaders - they have tuai, but these are tuai in name only. Daily they are in the pasar, selling land, acting as representatives for Chinese who want to get native land. And, some of them have built individual dwellings and no longer live in the longhouse."

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One of the tuai rumah referred to in the interview is Tuai Rumah Nyambang, head of a community of sixteen families. Through the sale of some of his land and the acquisition of a timber permit on behalf of a logging company, Nyambang has been able to build a relatively large separate house for his family, at a cost of M$6,700. The house is built of planed boards, elevated ten feet above a smooth concrete floor. The outside is painted a light blue, the floors polished and the ceiling finished with asbestos sheets. The kitchen includes a tiled Chinese-style stove eight feet long and three feet wide, constructed to burn wood. Nyambang is comfortably ensconced with his two wives, who are sisters, and his children in this new house.

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When questioned about the proper place for Ibans to reside, Nyambang, also, insists that the longhouse is the place. Concerning his

829 621 own situation he says:

> "If my anembiak decide to put up a new longhouse, I will build a bilik in it. It's much more pleasant to live in the longhouse rather than alone."

But until then, Nyambang will make do with his present lodgings. [178] It is significant that those who formerly were considered deviant because they put up individual dwellings and lived alone have become the models whom many other desire to emulate.

C. Physical Layout of Settlements

361 342 Although the settlements within this District show considerable variations in the layout of buildings, still the central building in a majority of the communities is the longhouse. A settlement may be comprised of a single longhouse or of several longhouses. Rumah Gaong is a single house, located three miles off the Durin Road and two miles from the next nearest house. Rh. Nyala is built beside Rh. Banta at Sungai Aup. In the Bawang Assan area, there are seven longhouses, two built on the right bank of the Batang Leba'an, five on the banks of the Sungai Bawang Assan, and all within walking distance of one another.

361 342 198 There is at present no longhouse where Nyambang has built his residence, and, given the amount of his investment and the funds becoming available to his anembiak through the forest enterprise that has been opened in their area, enabling them to put up prestigious separate houses, it is doubtful that a new longhouse will be constructed. In fact, some of the anembiak already have constructed houses rivalling that of Nyambang

361 himself.
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Several other instances of the physical fragmentation of longhouses have occurred within the District. At Rumah Nangkai, Batang Pasai, there no longer is a longhouse but an aggregate of individual dwellings built along the rising ground where the former longhouse stood. When Rumah Tindit, Oya Road, broke up in 1962, some of the members joined together to build a new longhouse at a new site. Others, however, such as Entili, chose to build separate houses along the Road in the vicinity of the 15th Mile.

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One man stated that Government has encouraged the dissolution of longhouses for several reasons. Among these are concerns over health and fire, for when illness or fire strike a house, it may sweep through the entire community. But more important in the Government's mind is the delicate problem of land-reform, an unresolved and highly critical issue that contributed to the fall of one Chief Minister and an unwillingness by [671] the Alliance Coalition to deal with it. Under Iban adat, former longhouse sites (tembawai) are held in perpetuity by members and their descendants so long as they continue to constitute a longhouse community. When they dissolve their community, however, all rights to the tembawai are relinquished and the land reverts to the State. The difficulties of keeping track of claims to long-abandonded house-sites are obvious, and a problem Government could solve through the fragmentation of those communities near the roads.

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342 In two of the four longhouses on which concentrated studies were carried out, a number of families lived in units constructed on the outer edge of the tanju' and called pelaboh. In some instances, living in pelaboh is temporary, for example, a young couple may live there until they can accumulate enough money and goods to add a permanent extension onto the longhouse proper. In other cases, living in pelaboh may be of a permanent nature. For instance, Umpi ak Paran of Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, has constructed a pelaboh of permanent material off the tanju' of his own section of the house, turning over the bilik to his son, Juna and his family, and settling his family in the pelaboh. Similarly, at Ruman Gaong, Sengan, the sons of Changgan, Manang Biga', no longer could live with their parents and built pelaboh, separating from the old people.

In this connection, it should be noted that pelaboh are constructed for two physical reasons as well as those already noted. At both Rumah Nyala and Rumah Gaong, the center of the longhouse is built on a nob which falls away on either side, so that the heights above the ground at each end of the longhouse are about twenty feet. The families who have built pelaboh maintain that it is unsafe as well as impractical to add on to the end of the longhouse by putting up a structure at a higer elevation. The second reason offered is that to add onto the end of the longhouse removes the family too far from the center or other end, whereas by putting on a pelaboh, the family is close to the social and political center of activiti

342 When a family builds a temporary pelaboh with the intention of
621 adding onto the longhouse in the future, its members are not considered fully participants in the affairs of the house by members who are living in the house proper. However, when a family builds a pelaboh of more enduring materials in order to give up the bilik to a son and his family, as in the case of Umpi, his generosity earns him the praise of the community of which he is readily acknowledged a full participant.

342 The area under the longhouse generally is wet and cluttered with
231 litter that drops through slats into the floor. Chickens are placed in rattan baskets that are suspended from the underside of the ruai, and fed by moving a plank of the floor. Pigs root about in the muck, penned in by split bamboo fences behind and before the house and released in the early morning to grub about for any roots and insects in the secondary growth.

366 Each of the four houses, and a majority of the 37 houses surveyed, has a shophouse conveniently located nearby where matches, sugar, salt and tinned milk and meat can be exchanged for rubber or pepper. Enchul Apai Jimmy has operated his shop successfully for more than 15 years at Rumah Gaong, and Ambas Apai Suda has profited from his shop at Rumah Nyala for the past ten years. Enchul's shop is off his tanju', and Ambas' is located twenty yards from the end of Rumah Nyala.

343 Other buildings, such as smoke-houses for processing rubber and, in some communities, separate houses for chickens, pigs and goats, complete

343 the layout of the settlements. In the case of Rumah Gaong, Enchul has
[231] built a cattle-shed for his 15 head of cattle, a watering pond, and
[491] garage-storage shed two miles distance from Rumah Gaong and at the end of the three mile road which he had extended into his property from the Durin Road.

361 Site plans for Rumah Nyala and Rumah Gaong are included on the following pages to indicate visually the relative positions of the buildings in the settlements.

D. Land Tenure and Use

423 To describe the Ibans as a land-hungry people is no misstatement.
[181] Previously, they desired new land for the practice of shifting cultivation. Today, many realize the economic potential of land on a highly inflated market, and some are sellers, other speculators.

The movements of various groups of Ibans into the Sibu District were similar in the practices and principles followed in use and tenure. When members of a community entered a new area, they discussed and decided among themselves how much land would be needed by each family involved. Each family in turn was allotted the amount agreed upon-ten fathoms, twenty fathoms - on the water's edge, and then the distance cleared from the river depended upon the labor-force and industry of each family. But, one principle that was firmly applied was that each unit had to clear straight away from the river and parallel to families on either side. It may be imagined that this gave rise to a number of land cases in which the issue

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 339]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

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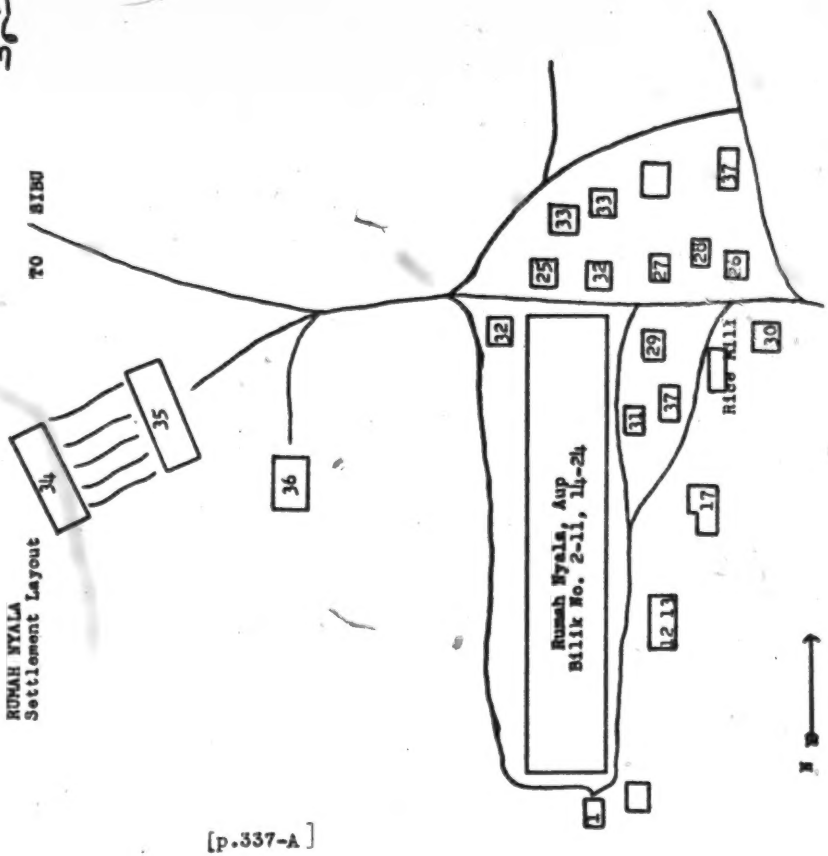
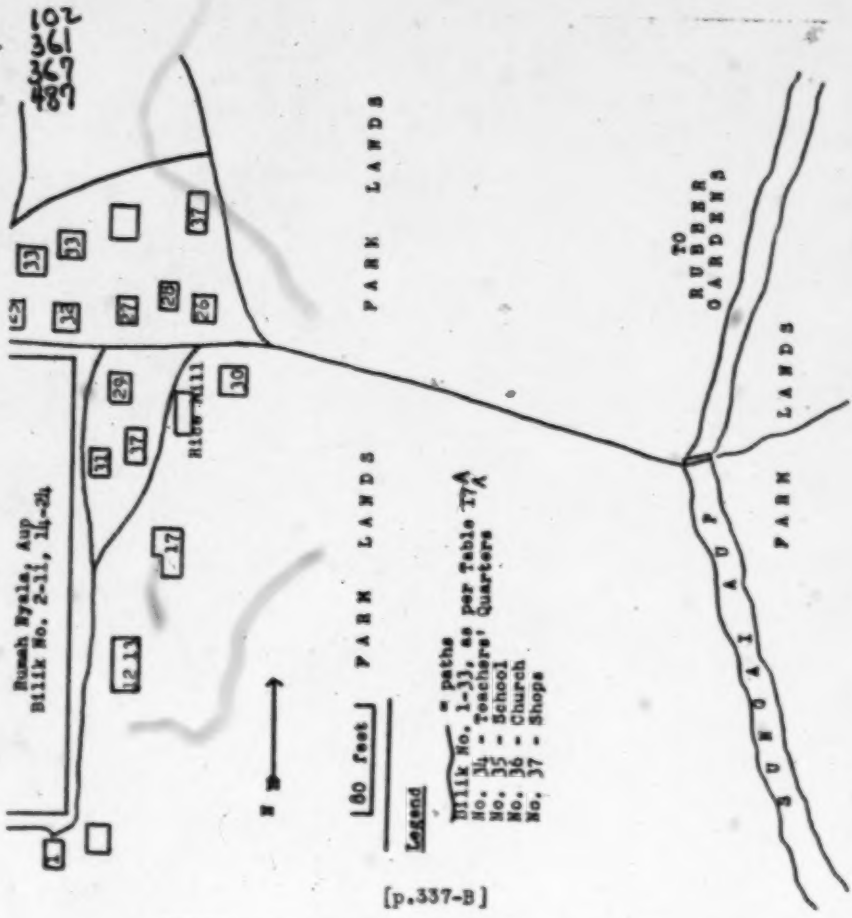


[p.337-A]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu



[p.337-B]

A.[See pages 239-241--Analyst]
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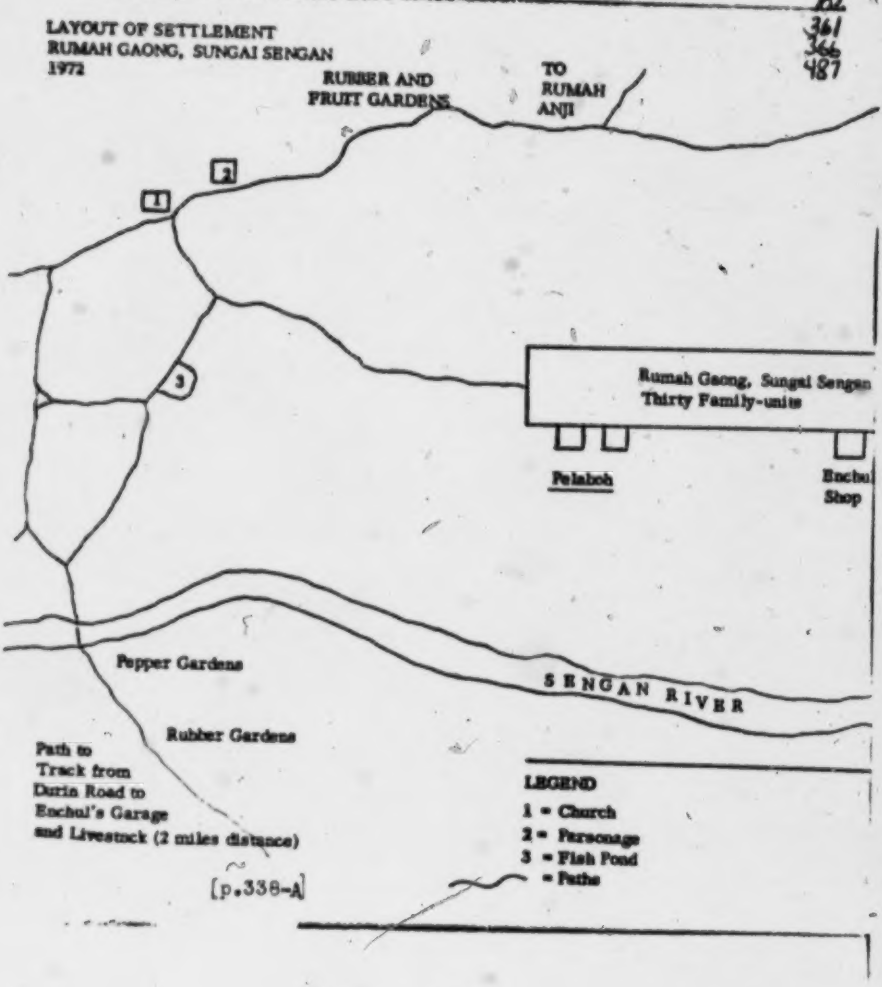

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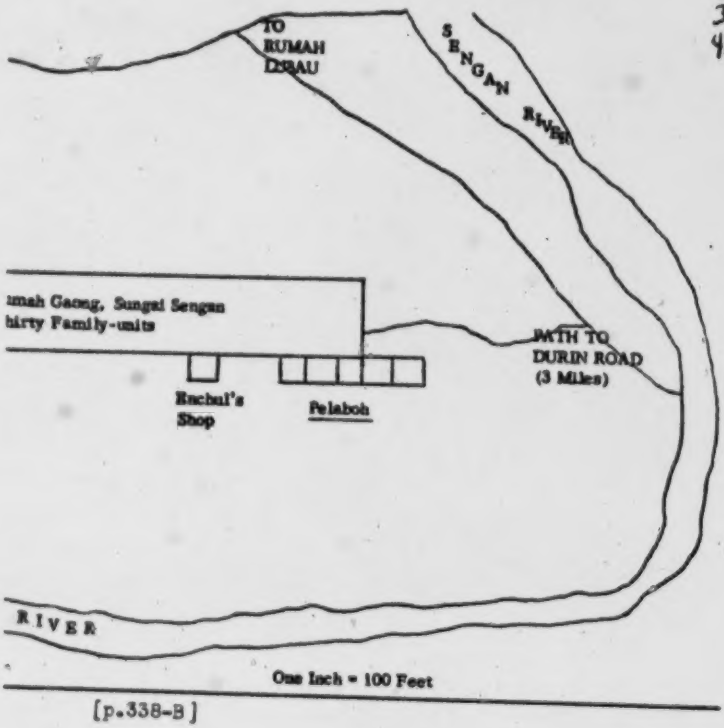

[p.338-B]

423 of determining who was clearing straight away was at stake. Again, it was not uncommon for a shrewd farmer, seeing a desirable plot of land, to cut across another's path. Boundaries were marked by stumps (tunggul), jack-fruit trees, or in the case of swampy areas, by planting bamboo.[5]

423 691 [671] [621] Even more frequently, litigations have taken place over attempts to sell communal forest tracts (tanah kampong) by individuals in cases of "claim jumping." By adat all members of a longhouse community holding rights to a forest reserve are to share equally in any profit from the sale of timber rights.

423 654 Families or individuals hold usufruct rights to land cleared by their ancestors, or land purchased through monetary payment to others holding such rights. Most land held is registered with the Land and Survey Department, which functions to protect the rights to land both of communities and individuals. Only a small portion of the land in the Third Division, however, has been surveyed, owing to the size of the area, small work-force, and reluctance of land-holders to pay survey fees. And, in some cases where land has been surveyed and property rights established, the markers (pak tanah) have been removed or individuals have planted fruit trees on the surveyed property, demanding payment for their "losses" when the owners pressed their titles.

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[539] [5]Taja' jalai nya bingkok, ia enda tau enda dititih-arus. Tunggul buah temedak selalu digalau di antara. Buloh ditanam didijir. ("Though the way may be crooked, it must be followed.")

311 The pattern of land use varies considerably in each community, depending upon the amount and type of land available. At Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, the lower-lying land on the eastern bank of the Aup has been developed into sawah. The higher ground on the western side of the river has been planted with rubber and fruit trees. Closer to the longhouse, coconuts, areca-nuts, and other fruit trees flourish. At Rumah Gaong, Sungai Sengan, farm-lands are not so concentrated and are located at 654 distances up to one-hour's walk from the house. Members of the community have been recipients of Government schemes for pepper and cocoa, and most families have 300 or more pepper plants on hilly, well-drained clay soils. Tuai Rumah Gaong has planted four-dozen cocoa bushes, some of which have borne and the fruit processed for drinking. He also has participated in the Rubber Planting Scheme, obtaining budded rubber from the Agriculture Department to replace his old, low-yielding variety.

423 Land was equally divided among the members of a community, and rights were established through eminent domain. Land rights were guarded by the gerontocratic rule of the elders. When disputes arose, they were adjudicated,

> [622] "by boundary markers such as trees and stumps and according to who came first. Therefore, the tuai rumah also was the tuai menoa (area elder), for he who came first certainly knew the comings and the clearings. Formerly, people depended on genealogies [178] and kin-groups, but now, on lawyers."

Land may be divided into two sub-categories: land held by individuals and their family units, and land the rights to which are shared

423 by the community.

423 621 In the latter case, communal land consists of the land on which the longhouse is built (taba' rumah), and an area extending twenty fathoms around the house (payong rumah). Of the payong rumah, Richards writes that,

> "a space all round the house 20 fathoms is to be called by the payong rumah and may not be claimed by an individual. Permission to plant anything in that space must first be sought and obtained from the Tuai Rumah. Each house may set aside for itself a greater area than this if it is so agreed among its members."

Former longhouse sites (tembawai) also are considered communal land rights are administered by the tuai rumah, on behalf of his constituents. Occasionally, attempts by individuals to claim such land for sale or use has resulted in litigations.

423 A person maintains more or less permanent rights of usufruct to land held by his natal bilik. As expressed by one tuai rumah,

> "A person's rights (kuasa, lit., power) to land can't be (simply) discarded, even if he leaves his father and mother. The person who takes up post-marital residence with his spouse always take rights to land, jars, blankets as symbols of his family's support. If he wants to surrender his rights, he can turn them over to his sibling(s) and receive in turn the token payment of a chicken, one pasu of padi and $3 (Bayar Tungkus Asi, "Payment of Rice Wrapping"). But, if the person wants to return to farm on the land of his natal bilik, he tells his family and tuai rumah, and if no resident of the natal bilik has declared his intention to farm the land, the former may do so."

000 political potential under the traditional system, acculturation has made

000 many Ibans aware and quick to take advantage of the opportunity to sell land. Coffeeshop deals are made between Ibans looking for profit through the acquisition and sale of land. A A

423 Although much land has been sold to Chinese, some Ibans have been
432 farsighted in realizing the value of land speculation, and have brought up or arranged for the exchange of land from their fellows. For example, by their own statement, Enchul and Embuas anak Imba have gone together to purchase all land to a depth of two lots on either side of Durin Road from the 5½ to the 8½ Mile.

423 There is a positive correlation between the amount of land avail-
621 able to members of a longhouse, the length of the longhouse, the economic potential, and the political clout of the house. The more land claimed by the pioneers, the more members likely to attach themselves to that house for the land. As one man stated the case,

> "Whoever came first took over much land and in doing so established usufruct rights for his descendants. Others who came in would attach themselves to the original pioneers and their descendants for allocations of land.
>
> "Land was power -it still is - but when this area was opened up, men claimed all of the land for so many promontories between their house and the next, for they realized that land is food, hence, power."

423 Pioneers and their descendants, those who had prior claim to the
554 land, were those from whom land was requested. Those who gave permission to use land were the ones who received loyalties and support.

A A [This paragraph is repeated, including its missing beginning, as paragraph 2 on page 343.--Analyst]

423 691 Litigations about land between members of the same house are settled by the tuai rumah. If they are not satisfied with the settlement, they may make an apil ("appeal") to the pengulu, who will investigate the case.

423 177 Just as land was recognized for its economic and political potential under the traditional system, acculturation has made many Ibans aware and quick to take advantage of the opportunity to sell land. Coffee-shop deals are made between Ibans looking for profit through the acquisition and sale of land.

E. Physical Layout of Household

342 621 "The most salient characteristic of Iban social organization is the practice of long-house domicile" (Freeman 1970:1). The Iban longhouse is an attenuated structure comprised of a number of independently owned family units, ranging from five to seventy units. The length of the longhouse at a particular given time depends upon several factors, among them the amount of land available to new members who want to attach onto the house, the age and quality of the house, and kin- or friendship ties with members of the house.

Although the longhouse may appear to be a single structural unit, it is in fact an aggregate of independently owned family units. The materials used in the construction of the individual units of the longhouse reflect this independent character, and in the same house building materials may vary from split bamboo flooring to hardwood planks, roofing of nipa-

342 621 thatch, ironwood shingles, zinc sheets, or asbestos tiles.

The longhouse is divided longitudinally onto family units for which each family has responsibility for construction and maintenance. Family units are divided into the following sections, progressing from the front to the back of the house and following the Iban orientation from the highest to the lower part of the longhouse.[6]

1. Tanju'

342 The tanju' is an open, uncovered porch onto which one steps after climbing the notched-log ladder or, in some cases, stairs from the ground to the longhouse. The width of the tanju' varies from 15 to 25 feet wide. The tanju' is constructed entirely of ironwood (belian, Eusideroxylon zwageri) - posts, supports and slats - in order to withstand the tropical rains and sun. At the outer edge, a railing is constructed and pieces of clothing often dried there. Clotheslines, of either bamboo or wire, may be strung from the eaves of the house to the railing. Rice and pepper are dried, rubber processed, and occasionally members relieve themselves on the tanju'. The tanjau', being the culturally highest part of the longhouse, is the terminal point of certain ritual activities.

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[6]The Ibans are an out-going people, and this orientation finds expression in their evaluation of the parts of the longhouse. The lowest is the dapor, next the bilik, the center of the ruai, the outer wall where guest are placed, and finally, the tanju'.

342
556 The quality of construction of the tanju', as well as other sections of the longhouse, varies from house to house and from family to family. Although the Ibans have been described as egalitarian, subsistence farmers, this description is doubtful or, at least, some "are more equal more than others." The longhouse and its sections is an indication of the relative wealth of its members, and while the Iban may be seemingly casual about the quality of his house, he is comparison-bent and quick to point out the faults in another's house which is in worse repair, older or dirtier than his own. Differences in wealth are apparent with the first steps onto the tanju', some of which are a peril to life and limb for a heavy visitor, being either old and apt to collapse or fashioned of loosely laid slats that shift under the step. Other tanju', especially in more recently carpenter-constructed longhouses, are made of symmetrical pieces of wood, firmly nailed onto the supports.

2. Ruai

342
[556] Separated from the tanju' by a wall of planks, or in some more poorly constructed house, bark (kulit kayu'), is the ruai. The ruai also is a general indicator of the relative wealth of each family, varying from irregularly shaped, hand-hewn slats laid parallel to the outer wall, to planed, fitted and polished hardwood planks. The ruai is covered by a roof and extends the entire length of the longhouse. Like the tanju',

342 the ruai is undivided[7] and allows for traffic from the tanju' to the bilik as well as lengthwise, up and down the house. The ruai is separated from the bilik by the dinding udok ("dog's wall"), which is attached to the main supporting posts (tiang bumbong) of the ridge-pole. From the ridge-pole (perabong), the roofs slope down on either side, over the ruai to the front and the bilik to the rear.

The width of the ruai varies from house to house, but remains fairly constant in any single house. For instance, the ruai in the former house of Pengulu Meringgai of Durin was eight feet wide, whereas in his new house [335] it is twenty-five feet wide. The ruai for Rumah Nyala, Rumah Imba and Rumah Nyelang is in each case twenty feet, a standard width being achieved by the professional carpenters who built according to the size of asbestos sheets used for ceiling.[8]

In most ruai, three divisions may be recognized, determined by the tiang (supporting posts). Next to the outer wall is an area referred to generally as the padong, formerly the place of panggau,[9] a sleeping platform raised about one foot above the floor for young unmarried men. The

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[7] On ceremonial occasions, a temporary barrier of saplings (pagar api) may be constructed to indicate that a particular ruai is taboo (mali).

[8] Asbestos ceiling sheets (dik) are four feet square and the houses have five sheets across the ceilings.

[178] [9] Few panggau remain in this District, most having disappeared within the past two decades.

342 padong regularly is eight to ten feet wide, and its length is determined by the longitudinal front of the bilik. The padong ruai is one of the most important social centers in the longhouse, for it is the area where most people do light work and, in the case of men, spend their leisure time. When not used, the padong either is uncovered or covered with an old mat, lest good mats be spoiled by dogs defecating on them or their being trampled by playing children. When used, the padong is covered with a tikai, brought from the bilik where they are kept rolled up when not in use.

512 462 During the day time, women split reeds (ngeraut ui) for use in weaving baskets and mats. Men and women separate pepper corns from the stalks, to be taken onto the tanju' for drying. Men split firewood or work on knife-handles or gunwales (gandong) for boats. In the evening, men and women gather to talk about their farms, dreams, or how the latest [574] 276 Apollo flight has upset the weather. As people gather, hosts offer sarang insap (tobacco containers) for a smoke or brass trays containing areca-nuts (pinang), betel leaves (sirih) and lime (kapu'), all the fixings for a quid.

342 513 178 Young men sleep on the padong, when not planning and carrying out romantic pursuits of unmarried women. As noted, the panggau[10] no longer

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[114] [10] Freeman's (1970:6) description of "special, bunk-like enclosures, termed agu" as sleeping places for young men is suspect, for agu means "latrine".

342 is used and the men stretch out on the mats, sometimes using mosquito
513
178 mats and blankets, sometimes merely covering with the ubiquitous sarong (dandong).

342 Although men often claim that the ruai is the place of males in
562 contradistinction to the bilik where the women belong, this division is not evident except on ceremonial occasions. We already have described women's as well as men's activities that are carried out on the ruai, and more will be described below. However, at festivals, these divisions are more apparent when women guests are led straightway to their hostess' bilik, and men are seated on the ruai. The point of the distinction appears to be not so much an effort to keep women off the ruai as to keep men out of the bilik to provide more occasions for social intercourse with members of other families.[11]

342 A row of posts stand at the inner edge of the padong to support the sadau (loft). These posts mark the boundary of the ruai proper, or the area
[592] used as the walkway by the house. Each family bears the responsibility of
[681] keeping the ruai in good repair and, in case of injury resulting from obvious neglect, may be made to pay a fine in addition to repairing the
[927] ruai. Near the posts, smoked heads (antu pala') are hung by families own-
[372] ing them, and below the heads, an earthen hearth (bedilang) is built for

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[11] The man who spends more time in his bilik than is deemed necessary is likely to be chided as laki indu' ("ladies man").

342 727 372 periodic ritual smoking in remembrance of the heads.[12]

The ruai is an important area for ritual activities of the Ibans. 342 796 At the beginning of the horticultural year, the pandong (ritual center, with ceremonial blanket enclosing the seed, whetstone, and utensils to be used) is erected on the ruai. The ruai is the path of the bards (lemanbang to sebayan (the after-world), and it is the way of the gods into the long-house.

Between the ruai proper and the bilik is the tempuan lesong (mortar 342 412 235 place), where rice mortars and mills are kept when not in use, hence the name. Firewood is stacked against the dinding udok, and fighting cocks are tethered before the owner's bilik. The tempuan lesong may be demarcated 178 by another row of posts, but in some houses there is no such row. In the modern longhouse of Rumah Nyala, several bilik have long benches attached to the wall and the tempuan lesong has become the sitting area.

3. Sadau

Over each bilik and extending about halfway over the padong ruai 251 is a loft which serves a number of purposes. The most common use of the sadau is as a storage area, where the large bark-bins (tibang) containing the family's rice supply is stored. Mats, baskets, and farm utensils may be stored in the sadau. Some families use the sadau as a sleeping area,

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114 [12] Freeman is right to stress that "these heads (antu pala') are always the property of one particular family, and are never owned by the long-house group as a whole." (Ibid.).

Some families use the sadau as a sleeping area, and young, unmarried girls spend their nights there. Occasionally, rituals are held in the sadau, such as the important ordination of the shaman (bebangun ka Manang). If omen birds alight on the roof, offerings are made to them in the sadau and one basket is tied at the head of the ladder leading to the sadau in each bilik.[13]

4. Bilik[14]

The family living room or bilik is the most important part of the longhouse, the names of the room and family being coterminous (kami Sabilik, "we (exclusive pronoun) of our family"). The outer bilik wall is used by some families to identify themselves, with painted designs, crosses, pictures of the Malaysian King and Queen, or used air-tickets. Within the bilik, walls are covered with old newspapers, Government posters, pictures of Malay, Indian, or Chinese movie stars, and, in one frame, a collection of all the photographs friends and acquaintances have given them.

The bilik is a rectangular space, enclosed by four walls, and varying considerably in size and appointments even in the same house. In more modern houses, the dapor or cooking area is separated by a wall from the main section of the bilik. At night, the front and rear doors are

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[13] In one offering (miring) ceremony I observed, 27 persons gathered to avert death from Rumah Nyelang on which an owl (burong pok) alighted. The entire ceremony was carried on in the sadau under the roof where the owl had rested.

[14] This spelling differs from Freeman's bilik (1970:2), but is consonant with Scott (1955:29) and current spellings of Iban. The final vowel is a glide and best represented by the phoneme /i/, for in Iban the letter "e" is commonly used to indicate a schwa.

342 secured, either with key-locks or with wooden bars. It is not uncommon for windows or low doors to be cut into the walls between bilik, to allow traff or communications, the sharing of food or gossip, between close friends or relatives who live next-to one another. But when quarrels arise, these openings are closed off.

The sizes of bilik within a longhouse vary according to the number of members in different families, and the relative wealth. At Rumah Nyala, Aup, the largest bilik is 24 feet wide and 56 feet deep. The smallest bilik resulted from the division of a bilik 20 feet wide into two sections because a husband and wife divorced, yet neither could afford to put up a new bilik. A wall was built, partitioning the bilik into two.

The family cooks, eats, sleeps and stores its property in the bilik. [372] Cooking is done on the family hearth (dapor) made of clay or stone and on which iron bars are suspended. Wood is used for fuel, and fed slowly into [262] a fire below the pots placed on the bars. The staple food is boiled rice and supplemented with ferns, greens, salt-fish or fruits as condiments 512 (lauk, engkayu'). Women do the cooking, often rising at 4 a.m. to prepare 264 the morning meal and, during the farming season, enough rice to be taken by [462] workers to the farm for a noonday meal. The lunch (bekal) is commonly taken in a plastic bag by residents nearer to Sibu, but still wrapped in a betel spathe (upih pinang) where such bags are not common. Workers return about dusk, bringing with them any food-stuffs that they have gathered, and the family shares an evening meal at about 7 p.m.

352 Only the poorest families do not have at least one large bed in the bilik and mattresses of kapok are increasingly common. Beds and mattresses are purchased from Chinese craftsmen in Sibu and then transported, often with much difficulty, to the longhouse. Mattresses on beds may be covered with tikai or, if they are placed on the floor, are rolled up against one of the walls when not in use. Pillows and mosquito nets complete the sleeping gear found in many bilik.

342 513 Married men and women sleep in the bilik, along with their young children. Girls always sleep in the bilik or sadau, while boys begin to sleep on the ruai from age twelve. Nursing infants sleep with their mothers and fathers or, if space in bed is inadequate, fathers sleep apart from the others, usually on the floor not far from them. In the few situations encountered of three-generation families who operate a shop, parents in the senior generation always slept in the shophouse, sometimes with a grandchild, and the intermediate generation slept in the bilik.

342 422 Most families keep their property in the bilik, and all heirlooms, such as old Chinese jars (tajau), large bronze gongs (tawak), sets of gamelan gongs (engkerumong), and the family's sacred rice (padi pun) and rice medicine are stored there or in the sadau. Increasingly, Chinese-made cupboards, desks, tables and chairs appear in the bilik. In six of the bilik at Rumah Nyala, vinyl-covered, foam-rubber cushioned chairs and couches are found. Traditional costumes and fabrics are still stored in the bilik, but now with colorful synthetic clothes in glass-doored cupboards like display cases.

[352] [177] [291]

5. Tiko

342 178 A recent innovation in three houses, including Rumah Imba and Nyelang, is the construction of a guest room instead of the tanju' section by the tuai rumah and his deputy (mandai). At Rumah Imba, there are two such rooms, called tiko (from portico, possibly), both fitted with sliding iron-grill doors that are locked when the tiko are not in use. [353] Pictures of the late parents of the tuai rumah and former colonial officers hang on the outer wall, and windows open from each wall onto the adjacent tanju'. Tikai for covering the padong ruai are stored in the tiko where they are more immediately accessible than in the bilik or sadau.

F. Social Composition of the Longhouse

621 602 A longhouse community is comprised of a core of cognatic kinsmen and their affines. As descent is reckoned ambilineally and affiliation bilaterally, most of the members of the longhouse are able to establish some degree of relationship to some or almost all the other members of the house. The rationale offered by one informant, Anyau Bakit, was that,

[829]

> "we know our own and they know us. In former times, people had many taboos and it was easier to get along with people who had the same taboos. Also, with fellow kinsmen, you had some idea about their characters - whether they were good or bad. So, that, if some stranger came to your house, you wanted to find out his background before he took up residence there."

Rumah Nyala at Sungai Aup was founded three generations or approximately sixty years ago by a small group of kinsmen centering around

621 602 two brothers and three cousins. Members of 24 of the 33 bilik-families of Rumah Nyala trace their descent from the founding kin-group, so that in describing their community, Ganai, Apai Gaun said,

> "We of Aup are all of one kin-group" (Kami di Aup sakaban magang).

Following Freeman (1970:97), the incidence of inter-relatedness of the 33 families at Rumah Nyala, Sungai Aup, was plotted and calculated. If every bilik-family was related to all of the others, the total number of relationships would be 528, i.e., (33 x 32)/2. That such is not the case is apparent from an examination of Table 32. Calculation of the numbers of families that have some degree of relationship, ranging from siblings to fifth cousin, yields an incidence of 51 per cent for 269 cases out of the possible 528 maximum. By far, the greatest number of these cases are comprised of descendants of the original founders of the community.

Of the nine families which do not claim descent from the founders, all have entered the community either through marriage or friendship. Liang of Bilik No. 4 married into the house. His first wife, a descendant of the founders, died, and Liang, remarried, bringing in Sangan, a woman from his former community of Uoh in the Kanowit District. Liang is the sya (MoBr) of Nuya of Bilik No. 18, who married Lium, the descendant of a founder Although Liang and Nuya have lived in the community for more than 30 years, and claim membership (sakaban) with the principal kin-group, members of the latter group are quick to point out that the two are not really kinsmen (Datai ari Uoh sida', ukai kaban amat, Apai Gaun, 13.1.72).

621 602 Dijah, of Bilik No. 28, is the daughter of Liang's late sister (anak madi' indu' Liang), who married Belayong, a descendant of the founders. Thus, Dijah has real kin-ties through her father with members of those bilik-families indicated on Table 33.A/A Jelia, of Bilik No. 29, is the daughter of Megong, from Melangan, who married the late sister of Lium of Bilik No. 18.

Beji and Mayah of Bilik Nos. 6 and 7 are siblings, both of whom married with descendants of the founders. The spouses of both died shortly after the Second World War, and neither of them has remarried. Their kin-ties thus are restricted to themselves and their children's families.

Apit of Bilik No. 20 is the petunggal sakali' (FaBrSo) of Ambas of Bilik No. 10. Julan of Bilik No. 21 is the sister of Ambas, the two of them born of the same father and mother (madi' tampong pala', "siblings extending heads" in contradistinction to siblings of the same mother but different fathers who are termed madi' udok, ("dogs' siblings"). Chengok of Bilik No. 22 is the sister of Apit (No. 20), and both children of Ambas' sister.

Ambas married Lipah, a descendant of the founders, and through the ties established there, the members of Bilik No. 20-22 moved to Sungai Aup. Everyone of them married with members of his former community, none except Ambas marrying with a resident of Aup. In describing them, Ambas stated that,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 357]

A/A [Should read "Table 32--Analyst]

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu
621
602

TABLE 32

BILIK FAMILIES
Incidence of Inter-relatedness
Rumah Ayala
Sungai Aup

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1	•																																
2	x	•																															
3	x	x	•																														
4		x	x	•																													
5	x	x	x		•																												
6				x		•																											
7				x	x		•																										
8	x	x	x		x			•																									
9	x	x	x		x			x	•																								
10	x	x	x		x			x	x	•																							
11	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	•																						
12	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	•																					
13	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	•																				
14			x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	•																			
15	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•																		
16	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•																	
17	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•																
18	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•															
19	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•														
20								x												•													
21								x												x	•												
22								x												x	x	•											
23	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				•										
24	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	•									
25	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	•								
26	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	•							
27		x		x				x	x	x	x	x											x	x		x	•						
28	x	x	x						x		x	x	x	x	x	x							x	x	x	x	x	•					
29	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x												x	•				
30																														•			
31		x																													•		
32								x												x	x	x										•	
33	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x				•

x = incidence of inter-relatedness between families.

621 602

> "they are newcomers, all from the area around Bawang Assan, and all kinsmen (orang dudi datai sida', ari menoa Bawang Assan, sakaban magang)."

Ili of Bilik No. 30 formerly lived in the area of Tanjong Penasu, down the Igan River from Aup. He moved to Aup, where he has no kinsmen, because, in his words,

> "it's a pleasant place to live" (endang endor nyamai diau).

621 572

Congeniality and friendship are important in the composition of the longhouse community, and it is not uncommone for people, particularly men, to take up residence on the basis of friendships they have formed. For instance, in Rumah Nyambang, Batu 6½ Oya Road, Gaon ak Budun of Tanjong Latap took up residence as a kampar ("sojourner") on account of friends he had in the house. He later married Bungi, the daughter of Tuai Rumah Nyambang, and is tuai of Bilik No. 12 in Rumah Nyambang.[15]

621 602

To return to the social composition of Rumah Nyala, Megong of Bilik No. 31 married the sister of Lium (No. 18), the mother of Jelia (No. 29) by a previous marriage. After his wife died, Megong continued to reside in Rumah Nyala, even though a majority of his kinsmen live in the Bawang Assan area.

Ajik of Bilik No. 32 is originally from the Melangan area below Bawang Assan. After Ambas married Lipah and took up residence in the house

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[15] In the 1970 Census, there is not a single instance of kampar noted. Though this practice is not uncommon, the kampar are readily assimilated into a bilik-family.

62/602 (Bilik No. 10), Ajik, along with Apit (No. 20), Julan (No. 21), and Chengok (No. 22) moved to Aup.

[372] The primary principles which provide the bases for communal relations in Rumah Nyala, thus, are cognatic and affinal kinship, reinforced by the elusive quality and problematic relation of friendship (cf. Paine 1969). Table 34[A] summarizes the bases for relations between the bilik-families of Rumah Nyala, and it immediately is apparent that almost 75 per cent of the families are related as cognates, within the range of siblings and fifth-cousins. Beji (No. 6) and Mayah (No. 7) are affinally related to Chundi (No. 15), and in the last paragraph we have noted the relations between Asbas and his cognates. Liang and Megong (nos. 4 and 31) are affines of Lium (No. 18), and Ili lives at Rumah Nyala with his friends, claiming them as kaban but having no real kin-ties.

[114] Thus, although Freeman's statement that,

> "a husband and wife never take up residence in a longhouse unless one or the other has kinsfolk there"

is generally true, there are exceptions as in the cases of Ili and Geranding who not only are non-kinsmen but also members of other ethnic groups as well, and with their families, are unrelated to any of the other members of Rumah [563] Nyala as kinsmen. Relatively easy attachment to the longhouse community is one of the important principles of Iban social organization so that Chinese, Memaloh, Melanaus and others have related themselves to longhouses either

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 360]

[A] [Should read "Table 33"--Analyst]

TABLE 33

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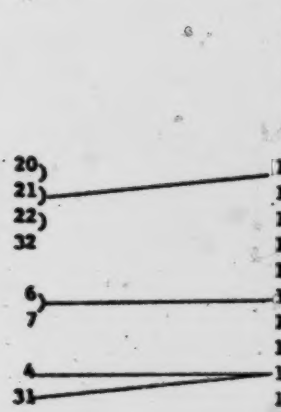
602
572

Bases for Community Relations
Rumah Nyala
Singai Aup

Cognates

Affines

Friends



621 602 [563] through marriage or by construction of their own unit.[16]

Conversely, there is an equal ease of detachment of the individu

621 or family from a longhouse. We have discussed how Noel could return to h natal bilik or leave it depending upon the circumstances in which he foun himself. A further extension of this ease of detachment occurs when in- dividual families remove from a longhouse either to attach one another lo house or to build an individual dwelling. Although gaps in a longhouse structure caused by the removal of a family to another area are not commo [681] still they do occur. By the payment of a token fine of M$30 to each famil on either side, a family may remove its section of the longhouse. More of a family will move away, leaving its section of the longhouse standing, wi the intention of returning or not returning to it in the future. In such instances no fine is required of the family.

[592] To summarize, in Freeman's words,

> "the fundamental nature of the Iban longhouse community. . . is a free and conditional association of corporate family groups. In other words, being part of a long-house does not deprive a bilek-family of its essential autonomy. In Iban social organization, there is no principle of more vital consequence."

621 342 178 G. Longhouse Fragmentation and Individual Dwellings

During the past decade, ten[17] of the longhouses in the 37 in which

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[183] [574] [16] Iban adat chara (law and custom) prescribes that all guests be accepted, and Iban mythology is replete with stories, with positive and negative connotations, of persons entertaining angels and unaware.

[17] Rumah Imba. Nyelang, Tindit, Pengulu Meringgai, Nyambang, Bojing, Pengulu Poh, Buda, Bandang, Luat.

621 surveys were conducted broke up. The major reason for fragmentation was
342
198 in order to build new houses, as the old ones were too dilapidated and beyond repair. Six of the communities built new houses either on the site of the old house or on a site within a distance of three miles of the old house.

Both Rumah Imba and Rumah Nyelang were begun in 1961, after the old house had been abandoned. Formerly, the people in those two houses had lived together in a single attenuated structure. But the distance to farm lands coupled with a feeling on the part of some members that they were being exploited by the shophouse of Tuai Rumah Imba prompted 25 families to begin a new house, Rumah Nyelang, downriver from Rumah Imba.

The residents of Rumah Pengulu Meringgai left their old house on Durin Kanan because it was in bad repair. In 1969, the tuai rumah built his section of the longhouse, to which several other families attached their units. But lack of funds and materials has caused a delay in the attachment of other families, many of whom are living in temporary individual dwellings in the open space beyond the new longhouse.

In the cases of Rumah Tindit of Oya Road and Rumah Buda, Naman, some of the residents have abandoned the longhouse to construct individual houses whereas others have gone together to build a new longhouse. The members of Rumah Pengulu Poh, Pasai, have broken up their longhouses completely, and have built separate houses along the knoll where their longhouse formerly stood.

621 342 178 491 Another factor which has influenced the withdrawal of some members from longhouses has been the construction of the road system, vastly improving communications between Sibu and the hinterland. For example, long before the other members of Rumah Pengulu Meringgai had left the old house, Nyanggau, an ambitious and enterprising young man had moved his family to a roadside site. Similarly, Entili of Rumah Tindit declined to build onto the new house, preferring to construct his residence along the Oya Road.

621 342 178 753 Still another reason which has prompted the breakup of longhouses, though none in this study's sample, has been the belief that a house has become "hot." For instance, in one house in the Kapit District, three members died between January and August, and the residents firmly believed that there was an antu living beneath the house and causing the deaths. When a fourth person died in September, the house was abandoned (rumah bumbus) and the people lived in hastily-erected huts until they could consider and undertake the erection of a new longhouse.

621 342 178 183 Although there is an increase in the number of individual houses which have been built in rural areas by former residents of longhouses,[18] there definitely is no mass abandonment of the longhouse system in favor of separate dwellings. To many Ibans, the young especially, the longhouse syste represents a survival of a time past and one that has little meaning or use

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[18] The 1970 pre-census data list 56 individual Iban dwellings, but this is very low, not taking into account the separation of units in Pasai, or the various tuai rumah, such as Janggu and Ringkai of Assan or Nyambang of Oya Road who have built individual houses. A more accurate figure would be between two- and three-hundred.

621 contemporary society. To others, and still the majority of Ibans, the
342 longhouse system is the jalai pengidup ("way of life") that is most mean-
178 ingful culturally. The longhouse still is an important center for social
183 events and many persons stated their preference for the crowd and sounds of the longhouse rather than for the loneliness and silence of a separate house.
[796] Further, the longhouse is a ceremonial center for the various gawai, to
[476] which even the newly emerging urban elite, among them some college graduates, return and take part. The mutual aid provided for the events of moment in the life-cycle of the individual has been adduced as another reason for the continuing popularity of the longhouse. And finally, the longhouse continues to provide an aura of security, in reality little, during the present period of terrorist activities.

Thus, the number of people who have left the longhouse community and built individual dwellings in rural areas is still relatively small and dependent upon those factors discussed as well as idio-syncratic reasons.

H. Urban Residence

369 The movement of an estimated 3,000 Ibans into the Sibu Urban area
177 has resulted in their dispersion throughout the town and in several patterns
361 of residence. These patterns of residence are related to a number of factors
[162] including the presence or absence of kinsmen, length of time and purpose for coming to the town, position and income and whether quarters are furnished by the employer.

369 5N Exploitation of relations and the assurance of acceptance have obvious implications for urbanizing Ibans, whether they are making visits to kinsmen for a few days or whether they are taking up residence on a permanent basis. In-migrants include both individuals and families, and a majority of these have relatives or friends with whom they put up. In interviews with Iban residents in the town, it quickly became apparent that the individual or family living in town who does not have out-of-town visitors staying with them for several days out of each week is the exceptio and many have a continuous run of house guests: kinsmen, friends, and casu acquaintances needing lodging.

In our survey of 200 Iban residents of the pasar, only 13 indicated that they were not helped with temporary lodging from a friend, kinsmen, pdong or towkay upon their movement into Sibu (Table 34). Forty-seven of those who lived with friends described their hosts as former school-mates, about one-half of whom had been instrumental in helping them obtain work. Seven of those who said that they lived with friends stayed temporarily with officials of their political party. By far, most Ibans received help from members of their own ethnic group.

TABLE 34

Groups Giving Aid to In-migrants

[572] [602] [177]

Iban					
Kinsmen	Friends	Malay	Chinese	Others	None
49	117	7	11	3	13

369 In several visits to the now-razed Rumah Temuai ("Guest House"), I discovered that only those Iban who knew no single persons in Sibu stayed there. Some were there to visit sick relatives in the hospital, others were working temporarily or more permanently and saving money by living in the 369 Rumah Temuai. But as soon as they could find other lodging that their 574 resources permitted them to rent, or made acquaintances with whom they could "take shelter" (numpang), they moved out to take up other accommondations and from then on, were open to demands for hospitality from kinsmen and friends.

369 A vast majority of Iban residents in the Sibu Urban area live either 362 in rented quarters or in housing furnished by the employer. Seventy-three 427 of the Iban employees in our sample listed in Table 15 (page 197) live in [466] quarters provided by their employer. Forty-seven of these employees are renting rooms, and 22 indicated that they are living with friends or kins- [423] man in one of these two groups. It is significant that only nine of the 171 economically active Ibans in Sibu own their own homes, and all of these nine have been long-time residents of the town, and generally they are more affluent than those living in rented quarters or those furnished by the employer.

361 There is no "Iban Ward" of Sibu Urban area, the Iban population 369 being scattered from Sungai Antu to Upper Lanang Road. The heaviest concentrations tend to be at the Lanang Road Field Force Camp, where an average 1,000 members, mostly Iban, live with their families; at Sungai Antu

Industrial Area, where until recently families of the Malaysian Rangers lived, and where several hundred Ibans still live; and in apartments along Mission Road, Tong Sang Road and the other tributaries of Lanang Road. More than 150 Ibans enrolled in urban schools are living in school hostels or renting rooms in the pasar.

In summary, the longhouse system continues to be the predominant type of settlement pattern among the Ibans of this district. For want of accurate statistics, it is impossible to determine exactly how many Ibans have left the longhouse in order to construct individual houses, but an educated estimate permits us to place the figure at between two- and three-hundred families. Of the estimated 3,000 Iban residents in the urban area, most are newcomers and live either in quarters furnished for them or in rented rooms. These residents are fairly evenly scattered throughout the urban area, with concentrations of Ibans near places of employment, schools and apartment houses.

IBAN CULTURE

186 From birth to death, the Iban is impressed with his ethnic identity vis-a-vis other ethnic groups. Through legends and myths, told on the longhouse ruai or broadcast over Radio Malaysia, he is made aware of the great crowd of ancestral witnesses who surround him, and to whom he owes his life. Although the group of which he immediately is aware may be limited to his longhouse community, he readily identifies with fellow Ibans of other districts and divisions through sharing a common language, adat and corpus of beliefs. According to his need and convenience, the kinship system may be manipulated to include or exclude fellow Ibans.

181 In the pluralistic state of Sarawak, the Iban are the most aggressiv of the indigenous people. This characteristic of aggression is, at least in part, a reflection of the confidence which the Iban feel in their self-identity. Casual observers have commented on the strength of the Iban, the pride of the individual in himself and in his ethnic group. And Freeman, through intense observation, described them as "untrammelled individualists, aggressive and proud in demeanour."

175 [181] The strong sense of personal and corporate indentity of the Ibans has been one of the factors which has helped them become the most numerous and most powerful of the indigenous people. During their invasion of

175 Sarawak in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Iban population increase occurred in part by natural increase and in part through the assimilation of captured members of other ethnic groups. The Melanaus, Rajangs and other former occupants of the Rejang valley were driven out, so that today, the Iban occupy what are to them the more desirable territories, and have greater access to towns and markets.

198 441 Within the past ten years, Iban traders have begun to insinuate themselves into spheres of business which previously had been the domain of the Chinese and, to a much lesser extent, the Malays. Whereas two years ago the Iban market was a joking matter among Chinese hawkers, today it is 162 the scene of a great volume of trade. And while the Iban population of [361] Sibu still tends to be a floating one, with individuals coming in to transact business in Government offices, to sell produce, or for treatment at the hospital, the number of Ibans taking up permanent residence is rapidly increasing. In the words of one man who returned to Sibu after two-years' absence,

> "Man, this isn't a Chinese town any longer. It's half Iban!"

666 177 In politics, Iban leaders such as Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, Thomas Kana, Sidi Munan and Stephen Kalong Ningkan have been prominent in the formation and development of the more indigenous-dominated parties. Unfortunately, in more than a single instance, the strength of individual leaders, the conflict of "big-man" competition, and the lack of a tradition of unity built upon superordinate-subordinate relationships, has proved the undoing of group interests.

000 undoing of group interests.

128 In this chapter we shall analyze certain aspects of Iban culture, as a system of practices, values and beliefs, which is shared among [369] members of the society. There are some aspects of Iban culture which are [184] shared by majority of the members, but there are dissimilarities as well in some norms, ideals and goals of the Ibans who have moved into the pasar [177] and those who have remained in their rural communities. Iban culture has been affected through the contact of its practitioners with the cultures of other groups and through the mediating influences of the urban center. The analysis in this chapter aims to indicate those areas in which Iban culture is being affected most, and those aspects that are most resistant to other influences.

A. Self-Sufficiency

866 In Chapter Five, we described the importance of independence and 183 the early training and orientation which Iban children receive in enculturation of this value. Independence-training, however, is but a single facet of a larger value which we may term self-sufficiency that includes a number of other ideals.

867 Through the process of enculturation, the Iban introjects the demands of his elders and peers that he be adequate to all of the demands of his roles as farmer, adventurer and community member. By word and example, boys and young men are taught the skills and courage required of them to be fully productive and participating members of society. Similarly, girls

867 and young women are taught that their roles in farm, garden and bilik require skill and resourcefulness in providing for their families.

243 554 183 We have described the importance which the Iban attaches to successful farming. The sine qua non for upward social mobility has been until recently continuous success in padi-farming.[1] It is in this area as in no other that the blessings of the gods appears, and men who are successful farmers and know a relative degree of prosperity (betuah-limpah, "with good luck") are invited to pronounce blessings at the gawai, that some of their benefits may spread to others. On the other hand, in traditional Iban culture, though a man might be skilled in other areas such as augury, shamanism or even warfare, if the gods of fortune didn't bless his farm, his ambitions for upper-class recognition foundered.

One member of the newly emerging entrepreneurial class of Ibans, a hard-working and ambitious man, said that the foundations of his success were securely laid.

> "My family has never known a year when we were short or rice (maya bulan gantong sendok). This is the reason why I have been able to get ahead and stay ahead of the rest of the people in my community: I haven't had to spend money on rice. And other members of the community work for me in my rubber and pepper gardens, in exchange for a gantang (5-1/3 pounds of husked rice."

[437]

22 183 The Iban is expected to show skills in the other tasks performed in making a living, such as fishing, gathering, hunting and acquisition of those things commonly needed.

[178]

[1] Higher education and employment now offer viable alternatives.

000 those things commonly needed. For example, one of the skills that is
868 expected of all young men is proficiency in the use of knife and axe.
412 Iban children begin to handle knives at age three or four so that, by late childhood, they are able to perform the multiplicity of tasks with the use of a knife. Similarly, they must learn to use the axe for felling trees and chopping firewood. Commenting on his refusal to return to his long-house during school holidays, a secondary school boy said,

> "I have been away from my house at school since age nine. When I went back one time, my parents asked me to chop firewood. When I tried, the girls laughed at me because I didn't know how. I'll never go back again, except for a day or two."

867 Enculturation occurs not only by example but also by word, and
538 aphorisms, proverbs and myths abound to impress upon the Iban his culture's
539 grammar of values. Success in farming is considered in part due to providen but the Iban recognize that it requires an equal part of hard work, as expressed in the following proverb:

Satibang, dua tibang,	One rice bin, two rice bins,
Batu Kenyalang.	(Even) a hornbill stone.
Enti' enda' turun nyerang	If you don't go to attack
Enda' ga' numbang ka tiang,	you won't fell the post,
jangka lelaki.	perhaps you are a man.
Sapemansai dua pemansai,	One fish basket or two,
Batu Channai.	(Even) a magical whetstone.
Enti' enda' turun ka umai	If you don't go to your farm
Enda' ga' bulih padi.	You won't get rice.

In summary, one basic aspect of this most fundamental value of
183 243 self-sufficiency is the ability to get enough padi so that other bilik-
868 families won't have to provide this basic food. Accompanying this is an

183 emphasis upon development of those skills and knowledge which enable males
243 and females to perform productively in the family and community. The family
868 whose members are successful in the food quest enjoys a reputation and re-
554 spect not accorded to those who, through misfortune, ineptness or indolence,
never have enough rice and other food. Similarly, longhouse communities whi
maintain a relatively high degree of self-sufficiency in food are more re-
657 spected than those in annual want. Thus, in discussing those houses that
had been provided rice by the Social Welfare Department, Ambas anak Irang
of Rumah Nyala said,

> "We at Aup haven't applied for rice in the past, and though our tuai rumah has asked for it this year because some of the families are out of rice, I told my wife not to put our names in - I refuse to sell my name for rice (aku enggai nyual nama diri' ngulih ka berau)."[2]

554 There is a tendency for casual observers to lump entire communities
183 together and to deal in stereotypes.[3] Yet, within every longhouse community
there are differences in abilities and persistence that are revealed in this

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[2] Subsequent to Ambas' statement, Tuai Rumah Nyala obtained rice from Welfare for members of his house. Of this Ambas said, "We didn't ask for it but if it's for the house, then we will get our share. For, this is like being in a longboat together: if all row you go ahead, but if you sink, you go down together."

[3] There is a certain amount of truth in such stereotypes, and some communities are richer, others poorer. But within the same community, almost always there are disparate degrees of prosperity.

basic value of self-sufficiency that emerge in discussions and the respect paid to individual members of the community. Some may possess the tongues of angels, with facile expressions and convincing speech, but unless words are backed by performance, a credibility gap quickly develops. On the other hand, a quiet, unassuming man or woman, who farms well, develops his gardens, and knows how to manage his affairs and persist towards his goals, will achieve respect and considerable influence among his fellows. In their evaluations, the Iban can be cruel critics of failure, but they are covetous respecters of success.

In Chapter Two we discussed the importance attached to the role of the pioneer, who overcame climate, jungle and, sometimes, enemies, to open up new land for his descendants and others. The adventure of pejalai has been, among other things, a pioneering experience for young men into new areas and among new people. Today, the pejalai may be by plane or launch to the Shell oilfields of Brunei or the forests of Sabah or Pontianak, but adventure and travel still are prescribed as part of the lessons for self-sufficiency.

To a very uncertain extent, the popular myths[4] of Keling, the god of adventure and warfare, are a recapitulation of the story of the Iban.

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[4] In addition to story-telling (berensera) on the longhouse ruai, numerous books about Keling and his female counterpart, Kumang, have been published by the Borneo Literature Bureau and the myths sometimes are broadcast on the Iban service of Radio Malaysia. Small wonder that my nine-year old son was accused of blasphemy when he suggested to an Iban playmate the possibility that Keling wasn't for real.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

The personal characteristics attributed to Keling are those ideals of the Iban male. It is my opinion that, as no other character in Iban folklore, Keling is the collective representation of the masculine ego-ideal. Every young Iban boy knows of Keling, who is aggressive, proud, resourceful, brave, independent, and the bearer of tremendous personal magic. His travels number as many as his story-tellers. Always in quest of adventure, he makes his way through difficult jungles, over flooded rivers, conquering human enemies and defeating the worst of evil spirits (antu). He recapitulates Iban history. He represents what every red-blooded Iban male should be.

Keling is never in want, his farms never fail. His accoutrements are the finest, his magic is all-powerful. Keling allows no obstacle to stand in his way. In one story, he fights and dispatches a dozen different antu, hosts of traditional enemies, and finally the entire army of the Rajah Laut (Malay King) in order to recover Kumang, his consort, who had been spirited away. The story encapsulates much of the history of the Iban and the hostilities which have marked their relations with other ethnic groups over competition for land. Interspersed with other groups, competing in an environment in which subsistence has demanded individual and corporate resourcefullness and resiliency, the survival and increase of the Iban have produced the Keling myths and have depended on the inculcation of Keling-like traits in the lives of members.

That some men do not achieve the ideal of self-sufficiency scarcely needs stating. We have seen that less than one-half of the bilik-families

We have seen that less than one half the bilik-families have enough rice to last them from one harvest until the next, and must supplement their own production with sago, rice purchased from the sale of produce or from wages, or grants from the Welfare Department. Again, not all men show the aggressive drives manifest in Keling, and personality types ranges from the strong, dominant male who is quite self-assured, to the manang bali', the transvestite who, with confused sex-role identity, escapes unbearable conflict through assumption of the healer's role.[5]

The ideal of self-sufficiency, with strong emphases upon independence, skill, courage, persistence and adventure, has been the norm by which individual performances have been measured. Consequently, while Iban society may in one sense be described as egalitarian, as we will discuss in the next section of this chapter, it also is highly competitive, and from the early history of Iban predations until the present, many members strive to get ahead of their fellows.

Judged by the scale of self-sufficiency, traditional Iban society was divided into three classes. At the highest level were those members who were able to farm successfully, achieving thereby an independence from others and a reputation for good standing with the gods. If a fortuitous

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[5] The Iban shaman or manang does not seek acts of bravery (ukai nuju pemerani), yet, in an interesting bit of irony, after his ordination, (bebangun) it is he who enjoins in battle the fears of other members of Iban society as projected in antu and incubus (burru').

554 combination of events placed them in the right place at the right time so that they were able to perform some act of bravery, their names came to bear an aura and attributes such as cool (chelap) and invulnerable (kebal). The acquisition of trophies such as human heads (antu pala') and slaves (ulun berani), and the sponsorship of the requisite gawai, fully ratified their membership in the incipient artistocratic class (raja berani, "rich and brave").

The vast majority of the Iban were grouped into what may be described as commoners. Several terms are still current for this amorphous group: orang mayoh ("the crowd"), mensia saribu ("the thousands"), anembiak redak ("commoners"), and, by more class-conscious Ibans, orang tengan ("middle people"). Commoners were those who had achieved no distinction and had been accorded no position (pangkat). Moderately successful in farming and other activities, they either lacked the ability or had no inclination towards upward mobility. In the words of several Iban men, the commoners were free (vis-a-vis slaves) and followers.

561 727 [426] The third category of people of Iban society was that of slaves. As we have mentioned elsewhere, slaves (ulun) were of two types: ulun leka rian ("debt slaves") who, because of repeatedly unsuccessful attempts at farming, had to enslave themselves to some successful individual, usually a member of the highest class; and ulun berani ("slaves of bravery") who were captured during a raid on another community. The latter type of slave is said to have had the worse lot of the two, being given only left-over food and not even such basic comforts as blanket and mosquito net. Such treatment was not aimed primarily at causing suffering, but rather

567 727 to test the mettle of the ulun berani. For, unlike the former type of slave, the slave of bravery could be redeemed and adopted as a blood-brother, if judged worthy by observation of his conduct and character.[6]

178 436 [183] The basic value of self-sufficiency and its sub-categories, together with the concomitant division of Iban society into three classes based upon success or failure to attain the ideal, has been pre-adaptive for the Iban's participation in a cash economy and entrance into economic [175] classes recognizable in this pluralistic society. By the end of the second decade of this century, many Ibans in the Sibu District had become money-wise and were aware of the goods money could buy, as well as the security it offered. In his quarterly report, the Resident for the Lower Rejang described the Iban's hoarding of copper coinage (SG No. 767, 16 April, 1919). As early as 1902, the Iban of the Rejang were buying "old Buga jars" (SG No. 437, 2 June, 1902 p. 125), for amounts ranging from [411] $100 to $200. The introduction of shotguns resulted in their purchase by thousands of Iban,[7] so that it now is exceptional for a family not to [556] have at least one shotgun. Jars, different types of brassware such as gongs, pinang containers, condiment trays and lamps, as well as shotguns,

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[6] In a ritual of redemption (terbang or tebus), the slave was freed and his new status declared. At the same time he was given gifts, symbolizing his beginning a new life and relationship to other members of the community.

[7] In the store under the Sibu District Office, thousands of shotgun registration forms are stored.

were early wealth indicators, all requiring cash or a surplus of marketable goods for their purchase.

Although the Iban were quick to perceive the benefits attainable with money, cash has been difficult to come by for a large majority of Iban, and even more difficult to keep. The sale of jungle produce and rubber brought in relatively small amounts of money to individual families, and during the timber boom, much larger sums were acquired by pengulu, tuai rumah and the anembiak redak. But most of such cash was received on an irregular basis, and either found its way almost immediately back into the pockets of Chinese merchants, or was expended on a gawai, to buy name and fame and satisfy cultural demands.

Opportunities for employment in the pasar were severely limited for Ibans during the first half of this century. The Brooke administration discouraged education among the movement of Ibans to the pasar. As Pringle writes,

> "He (Charles Brooke) knew that such abilities would not survive formal[8] education. He also believed that the longhouse people were likely to be corrupted by the sinful practices of the bazaar. He particularly feared that Iban girls, conditioned by the permissiveness of their own courtship customs, would be easily led into prostitution."

In the opinion of one Iban leader, educational opportunities were opened for Iban students only to the Seventh Standard (seven years study)

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[8] Loss of sensitivity and orientation to jungle life, as well as atrophy of mnemonic abilities was feared by the Second Rajah.

871 because of two reasons. First, the Brookes were afraid that the Iban
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175 would lose their traditional culture. Secondly, they were afraid that
829 educated Ibans would be dangerous Ibans, i.e., unwilling to accept without question the paternalistic Brooke administration which was weighted heavily against their advance through its stereotyping of their culture, as well as being heavily pro-Malay.

175 The cession of Sarawak to the British Government in 1946 resulted
658 in a more open and equitable arrangement for the Ibans. They were permitted access to higher education, and a large number of Local Authority Schools
[369] were built. Whereas previously only a small handful of Ibans lived in Sibu prior to the cession, by 1947 their number was 259 and by 1960, almost 700.

178 Thus, education and wage-earning offered viable alternatives to the
871 traditional value of self-sufficiency and status according to rice production.
464 Education, at first even at a Primary 4 or 6 level, later at higher standards
[183] permitted the student to find employment in a number of jobs, ranging from primary school teachers to clerks in Government and companies, and even to attain to senior government positions.

[177] > "To become a government employee. . .has meant many things: social status (and the titles and uniforms to match), economic security, a comfortable life with relatively modern conveniences, and, essentially, identification with a Western (rather than a native) style of life."

The initial skepticism of many Iban parents about education was overcome by reports of the employment opportunities available to students.

178 Of what account were their arguments that their ancestors didn't go to
811 school and yet knew how to grow rice,[9] when confronted with the economic
464 potentials through education? It is small wonder that parents asked for schools for a new formula for success had been comprehended. As one astute Iban put it,

[829] "We quickly discovered that education is money and money is padi, so why cling to one way (i.e., farming) only."

The proliferation of schools in part due to Government's desire, in part due to parental demands, and the accompanying expectations for employment of school-leavers, is a crucial factor in the transition from an ideal of self-sufficiency in rice to one of security through education and wage-earning. Without imputing blame, the initial and early raison d'etre of schools in Sarawak was for training teachers and civil servants. Such was the shortage of educated Sarawakians that even as late as the mid-1950's, achievement of a Primary 4 or 6 education was tantamount to automatic employment. It took several years for this model to be comprehended by many Ibans, but once grasped it has been firmly held.

178 Education, thus, has been a process of disorientation to rural life
811 and orientation to a salaried position, hopefully in an urban area such as
464 Sibu or Kuching. There is little inclination for more highly educated
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[9] An argument that I heard on a dozen or more occasions in the late 1950's when discussions about the establishment of schools took place in some more remote upriver areas.

198 students to return to the longhouse, and as we have mentioned, for most your
871 educated Ibans there is the feeling that the traditional value of self-
464 sufficiency cannot be realized through padi-farming, but rather through
183 cash-employment. In light of this attitude, it is likely that an increasing number of young Ibans will move into this pasar, and that Government's urging of its "back-to-the-farm" policy is futile.

178 Education and employment are relatively new developments among the Iban, particularly employment on a steady salaried basis.[10] Several re-
[592] sults are appearing. First, although kin-ties remain important to Iban mobility, a fraternity of school-mates is also appearing. In listing the person who helped them get employment and find a place to live in Sibu, almost one-quarter (or about 47) of a random sample of 200 indicated a
[829] former school-mate (Table 35). Second, among some educated Iban, there is a tendency to disparage their people's traditional culture and to abhor
[177] life in the longhouse. Third, there is a tendency for young educated Ibans to identify with the values of other ethnic groups, whose members they emulate whenever possible. We will discuss this later in the chapter when
[554] we consider acculturation. Fourth, there is appearing a hierarchy of status in some cases following the traditional class structure of the Iban, in other based upon level of education, type of work, amount of salary and political clout.

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[10] Iban men have gone on pejalai for more than three-quarters of a century, but work on a regular salaried basis is a new feature.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

183
178 The Iban have had no tradition of political unity, and divisions
554 long have existed between those who were able to achieve to the value of
[619] self-sufficiency, and those who were not. At present, these divisions are being re-interpreted through a translation of the value in terms of education and cash-employment. Fifteen years ago, Richards, a long-time colonial officer and student of the Ibans wrote that,

> "there is now perhaps some risk of a division among the Ibans themselves. . . . There is already a gulf between the rich and the poor, between the Iban who is educated and owns property in plantations and the one who is not educated in the modern sense and has only traditional property. The division and eventual disruption of the community to which I referred earlier will, if it occurs, leave the Ibans weak and defenseless as a community, and lead to their disappearance in the way of the people who preceded them in this country."

The divisions among the Ibans about which Richards wrote are not new phenomena. Rather, they have existed as a part of Iban society and culture for as long as traditional accounts provide us knowledge. The entrance of Ibans into modern society and pasar life with the concomitant alignment with economic classes of other ethnic groups is but a new expression of an old fact. For, according to the value of self-sufficiency, members of the society long have been ranked according to their performances and achievements.

B. Cooperation and Competition

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476 Closely related to the first value of self-sufficiency are the two norms of cooperation and competition. Given the habitat to which the Ibans

183 have adapted, together with the techniques of acquisition and production
476 which they have developed, the norms of cooperation and competition have been important in maintenance of group solidarity and survival through emphases upon activities such as sharing and personal initiative. The disparate nature of these two norms and the rewards which members of Iban society perceive in each has resulted in different responses and behavior patterns as individuals have attempted to accommodate to one or the other, or to hold the two in tension.

183 Although first impressions of visitors to longhouse communities
476 is of a cooperating group, each community is also composed of a number of
621 competitors, vying through various activities to exceed or at least not to
[156] be bested by their fellows. Traditional emphases upon physical prowess, bravery and cunning among men, and hard work and domestic skills among women have been major themes among the strongly achievement-oriented Ibans. Cooperation is needed in house-building, rice cultivation, the establishment of schools, and putting on gawai. But competition cuts through all of these activities and others as people make comparisons of the size of houses, yields of the rice-field, examination results, and how many more people came to their gawai. Kami Iban enggai alah ari pangan ("We Iban refuse to be defeated by one another"), said Apai Gaun of Rumah Nyala on one occasion. This refusal is manifest in the intensely competitive spirit and activities of individuals, kin-groups and longhouse communities.

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602 As we have noted about three-quarters of the bilik-families of Rumah Nyala are related through cognatic ties. Within the community, members identify more closely and participate more frequently in activities with kinsmen than with non-kinsmen, intensity of identification and frequency of interaction being almost proportionate to degree of kinship. Thus, kinsmen take pride or shame from one another's actions and achievements. For example, when the community began the new longhouse in 1956, Apai Gaun urged his brother, Machau, to join him in collecting materials (ramu') for the construction of units in the new house.

> "I told him," said Apai Gaun, "that our family had never lived in a pelaboh and that I didn't intend to now. I told him that if he couldn't afford to have a carpenter put up his section, and he didn't know how, that I would help him, because I had worked as a carpenter. He didn't want to, so he built a pelaboh and I attached my section to the longhouse."

[152] Apai Gaun admitted that he felt rather ashamed because his brother had not built onto the longhouse, the implication being the Machau's failure to do so was a loss of face to Apai Gaun as well as to himself.

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476 Rice cultivation is both a cooperative and a competitive activity. For families with an insufficient labor force, recruitment of members from other families in either labor-exchange (bedurok) or for wages (ngaji) is imperative. Festive events throughout the farming year are held cooperatively, such as the Gawai Batu and Ngemali Unai. But rice cultivation also is highly competitive. When families decide upon the size of their farm, they consider not only their needs, the amount and quality of land to be

243 476 farmed, and the labor force available to them, but also the size of their neighbor's farms, and the anticipated relative yields. Competition is keen in the length of the work-days workers put at their farms, keen competitors striving to leave earlier and return later than others. Talking about the painful task of cultivating the soil (mito), Dinah Indai Ellen of Batu Burak recounted how that,

> "last year (1971), I farmed one acre next to a Chinese neighbor. We both went down to the farm at about day-break. By three in the afternoon, I was tired and ready to return, but I refused because my neighbor was still working. I said to myself, 'Later, my friend, you'll get a taste of it' (Legi' nuan ngensepi', uai). At five, she quit, and I worked on for half-an-hour to show her that I could."

When rice is harvested, families with large yields thrill to the full tibang and guni, recounting the labor, skill and good luck which re- [777] sulted in the demonstrable fruit of their superiority. Families who didn't do as well attribute their smaller yields and losses to bad luck.

484 554 The institution of pejalai has provided legitimacy for (or created) the wanderlust of Iban young men, who have gained knowledge, experience, and exploitable contacts through their travels. Occasionally, young men travel in groups, but the acquisition of goods and lore is done individually. As important as the travels are, men try to exceed one another in bringing back treasures from their trips. They attempt to accumulate as much money and other valuables, such as sewing machines and outboard motors, as possible, not only for their utilitarian values but also for show and for the acclaim that such things will bring them. One of the most cutting

484/554 remarks that can be made of a returning traveller are those spoken of one man, "Why, he's still paddling;" i.e., he didn't get enough even to buy himself a motor.

658/476 Obtaining schools has required the cooperative efforts of tuai rumah and anembiak in completing the required forms and submitting them to the Education Department, whose offfcials have had to be convinced of the need for a school before permission has been granted for its establishment. On occasion, several longhouses have joined their efforts to get permission to start a school. At other times, bitter feelings have emerged as longhouse communities have engaged in a tug-of-war to get the school closer to their house, realizing that there are decided advantages in having the school nearby.[11]

871 Although rural education has been very casual for most Iban students many refusing to attend school with little or no demand from their parents, some have taken their work seriously and have been motivated either by parents, teachers or the example of an older relative or friend. Thus, most parents are resigned to see their children fail the Common Entrance Examination or the Sarawak Junior. But, the Iban student who does well in [554] his education is a source of great pride to his parent. Thus, when both Asun and Gaon, the sons of Ganai anak Jubang (Apai Gaun), passed the

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[11] In some situations with which I am acquainted, primary school children have had to paddle up to two hours to their school and two hours back daily, their being no hostel and boarding facilities available to them. It is small wonder that in such cases, the students lose interest in education or do not do well.

871 Senior Cambridge Examination, the father gained immensely in stature.
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> "Everyone in the community wants to know how it is that both my sons passed. They say, 'Sometimes a boy or girl from a family may pass, but never two as in your family.' Then, they want to know what magical medicine (ubat) I have, and to ask me for a portion of it."

796 The traditional gawai system has had numerous functions in Iban society, including the redistribution of goods and foodstuffs by more affluent members of the community. The gawai system has been a means for re-inforcing group solidarity as members of the longhouse have shared their [571] goods and labors. It also has been a principal means of maintaining ties between "food-sharers" (sapemakai) and more distant kinsmen and friends. But, the gawai system not only has involved Ibans in cooperative actions, [554] but also in competitive actions. For, as men have sponsored feasts and rituals, they have been able to achieve upward social mobility. Only those who have attained to the highest demands of the culture through pioneering, successful farming and bravery in raiding and head-hunting have been able to sponsor the major events, such as Gawai Kenyelang ("The Hornbill Festival"). In the Gawai Antu ("Feast of the Departed Spirits"), only the men who have taken human heads may drink the sacred wine (ai' garong), for it any unworthy person drank it, it would become poison to him.

796 The gawai system has provided a means for competition betweeen
554 members of the same and different communities, as they have attempted to outdo one another in providing sacrifices and food. According to Iban adat, it is imperative that if a guest is asked to kill a pig, water-

buffalo or turtle, that he reciprocate when he hosts a gawai, providing in kind the thing which he sacrificed. Shortly before the people of Rumah Nyala put on a gawai, Ambas ak Irang luckily was able to buy a mud-turtle (beluku') from students who uncovered it while digging a drainage ditch. Ambas was euphoric, for several years before he had sacrificed a beluku' at the gawai of a friend, whom he had been unable to repay. The debt was shortly settled forthwith.

Just as gawai have permitted men to ratify their positions in traditional Iban society, so they are being adapted to new meanings in modern society. In the last elections held in 1970, several candidates sponsored gawai in the wards in which they were seeking election, in lieu of campaigning which was prohibited by Government.[12] Similarly, Pengarah Chundi anak Resa has increased his stature in Rumah Nyala and the Aup area through his sponsoring of several gawai.

Recreational activities, some of which are held at gawai, others which are not, are highly competitive. Among children, various forms of wrestling (bibat, bibat Maloh and bibat gali') afford opportunities for tests of strength. Throwing spinning tops (nikau ka gasing), encircled in a coil of barkcloth (tekalong), is a measure of eye and arm. Among men, cockfighting is by far the most popular sport through which men vicariously release hostilities as well as take part in the thrill of betting which

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[12] Following the May 13, 1969 riots in Kuala Lumpur.

52 always accompanies a cockfight. Main bol ("soccer") rapidly is becoming the second most popular sport. Annual competitions are held on school fields such as Bawang Assan, Assan, Aup and Salim, and the intensity of play reaches fever-pitch. Winners attribute their victories to superior play, while losers rationalize their defeats as being due to stupid teammates, rough opponents, biased referees, or bad bounces of the ball.

494 In trade, the relatively newly entered sphere, Ibans have shown themselves generally long on competition but short on cooperation. In the several dozen cooperatives which have been established either with Government direction or privately, few have done well because of rivalry between members for their shares of the profits. In the words of one exasperated cooperative official,

> "The members think that they can buy their shares (Iban, sel) today and pick up their dividends tomorrow."

Some cooperatives have done well, with good management and support from the share-holders, but these are a minority.

627 The faith that "right will out"[13] and that an unworthy competitor can never win has been the basis for a number of ordeals designed to

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[13] Succinctly expressed in the following proverb:

Ngelalai ka landak Chechukak meh bulu;	(You may) hide the porcupine, but his quills will stick up;
Tatungkus ka abus, Dikebu meh abu;	(You may) wrap up the ashes but they are bound to be scattered;
Salam ka rian, Tatemu meh bau.	(You may) hide the durian, but its smell will be found.

627 ascertain the truth between two litigants. In two reported cases (SG 1227, 31 May, 1960:108-9), opponents settled a trial by cockfight. In much more demanding ordeals, two men in one of the houses surveyed underwent trial by submersion (selam ka ai') to settle a boundary dispute, the loser being the man who first fainted or emerged from the water. In another ordeal held in 1970 (and unreported), two men plunged their arms into a cauldron of hot water to seize stones (chelok betong) from the bottom the man whose arm was unmarked being considered the party in the right.

621 [183] [195] Iban speech is thoroughly seasoned with expressions emphasizing the norms of cooperation and competition. While we must stress the autonomy of the bilik-family, yet in matters concerning the entire community the autonomy must be subjugated to the group decision. After the decision has been made through the community discussion (randau orang mayoh), [539] members are expected to accept and follow it. To betray the community is analogous to the story of the river fish (juak) which, having completed a non-aggression pact with the crane (ensulit) slyly bit off the leg of the ensulit when it came to the water to drink; hence, the expression used of betrayal of an agreement or community decision, aum juak.

621 183 Community solidarity and cooperation is to be valued more than success, according to the following proverbs:

[539]

Parai manok, anang bekutok.	The chicken has died, don't criticize.
Patah taji, anang bekelai,	The spur has broken, don't mark it.
Patah duku', anang bejako'.	The knife broke, don't say anything.
Patah lungga', anang belaya.	The short knife broke, don't argue about it.

621 Occasions when a member does set himself up in judgment on the community, criticizing the results of some community decision, other members may politely but firmly reprove him, reminding him that the group is more important than the individual, good-will than gain. If he doesn't accept their reproof, members may cite any number of proverbs to the effect that he is more stupid than the group by setting himself over against it. For example,

[539]

Ko de, Malau jugau, ia isau pandak putin	You say that Malau is stupid is stupid and short-sighted;
Ko de, aku lungau, ia de ke nadai runding.	You say that I am foolish, but it is you who are senseless.
De ngumbai diri Keling Panggau,	You call yourself the Keling of "heaven" (Panggau),
Tang de Keling Sebayan.	But you are the Keling of the dead (Sebayan).

539 183 In speech, as well as in all other aspects of Iban life, cooperation and competition are both culturally and socially normative. Numerous stories are told of Apai Salui ("Father of Foolishness") as examples of the misfortunes that befall the person who does not cooperate, who is indecisive, or who does not jealously guard what is valuable. When Apai Salui catches and eats a turtle without sharing with his wife, Chelegit, she sees the particles of food between his teeth, extracts them while he naps, and feeds them to Apai Salui for dinner. When gawai are given at houses upriver and downriver, Apai Salui paddles first in one direction, then in the other, reaching each house only after the food has been exhausted.

539 183 In a story with obvious inter-ethnic connotations, Apai Salui had a large concrete house, all the money he needed, Chinese jars, Malay gongs, and bins of rice. His Malay friend, Suma Unang, had nothing - except a bamboo hut with a split bamboo floor, nipa thatched walls and roof. But one of the poles under Suma Unang's house was split and when the wind blew through it, the sound was like that of a flute. One day, Apai Salui heard the sound and decided that he must have Suma Unang's house so that he could listen to the wind blowing over the split pole.

The two men exchanged houses. After Apai Salui moved into Suma Unang's hut, he sat underneath it listening to the sound. One day, however, the wind was stronger than usual, and the pole gave away, the house collapsed and Apai Salui was killed. But Suma Unang lived comfortably in his house with money, jars, gongs and rice.

C. Egalitarianism

183 Precisely because there are some Ibans who are more capable and self-sufficient than others, who are keener competitors and whose achievements outstrip those of others, there is a strong traditional emphasis upon egalitarianism. By egalitarianism I mean the myths and rituals prescribed to support the ideal of equality of one's self vis-a-vis others, the right to make one's own decision, to speak one's mind, to follow one's own course of action. As with the preceding norms, this ideal subsumes a number of other values such as justice and fair treatment, respect and consideration.

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626 As important as this norm is considered to be in maintaining the independence and rights of the individual and the autonomy of the bilik-family, it is equally important in maintaining cohesiveness within the community. For, by techniques subtle and unsubtle, individuals are "kept in check," lest they too far outstrip the group. The levelling processes at work in the longhouse community are among the most important pressures for conformity upon the individual member. Thus, because there are problems of inequality there is much concern about egalitarianism.

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578 Food-sharing is a basic characteristic of the bilik-family but conflicts often arise over the use of other goods which are acquired by members of the family. Persons may be reluctant to contribute towards the purchase of furniture and other goods for their natal bilik if they do not anticipate inheriting the things purchased, or if they are intending to move out and begin their own bilik. We have seen that conflict of interests between structurally parallel units within the same bilik has been a major cause of bilik-partition. Even within the same nuclear family,
[465] there is a high degree of independence. Men who earn wages may spend their money on cockfighting with little or no interference from their spouses or other members of the family. Should a wife or other family member reprimand or even question the cockfighter about the use of his money in that way, the latter will resent and almost surely reject whatever is said to him. The money is his own, and no one else has the right to tell him what to do with it.

577 Similarly, in inter-bilik affairs, the Iban soon learns that to intrude into or interfere with the affairs of another family is to invite trouble. "He wants to be more than others" (ia ka' belebih ka diri') or "he wants to make himself great" (ia ka' ngemesai ka diri') are common 539 criticisms of persons who may offer advice or criticism. In a popular child's story, Iko' Kera' ("The Macaque's Tail"), a group of macaques descended upon a fallen tree trunk which a man had been splitting before returning home for his lunch. One macaque was more mischievous that the others, shaking the wedge until finally it popped loose and his tail was caught in the split of the trunk. The man quickly dispatched the macaque, and such is the end of everyone who interferes with the work of others, concludes the moralistic story.

577 Through example as well as lore, the Iban finds that it is safest to do his work and let others do theirs, offering no direct suggestions lest he suffer disfavor for impugning the abilities of others. "He knows more than others" (ia nemu agi' ari orang) is a stinging and humbling remark which pulls most persons into line with the practice of non-interference.

183 539 Equality is an important part of myth and ritual, and many proverbs are derived from lore and legend to emphasize the norm. The following sayings all are related to egalitarianism, justice and fair treatment.

Baka adat para sagantang	Let the law be equal for all, just as a gantang measure is the same for everyone.
Anang meniboog bepinang	Don't ask some to climb the thorn tree, others to climb the smooth betel tree.

183 539 Pedua' badak, mit kelikit, besai kelikai.[14] Like the division of the tapir, much to the big little to the small.

869 156 576 The Iban rightly are described as individualists, but within the constraints of society and culture. Thus, the individual learns to maintain a balance between acts and speech that are self-effacing and face-saving, personally satisfying and socially acceptable. Children are taught to walk over the ruai so that they do not make unneccessary noise which is considered disrespectful to others. Passing before others, the Iban bows with fingertips down between his knees to show his humility and [516] not give offense. Women learn to sit on their heels (dudok pipi'), men in other prescribed ways according to the relative ranks of members in the group in which they find themselves.[15] Guests always must be seated along the outer wall of the padong ruai and the good host must offer his guests cigarettes or the betel container.

537 156 When called upon to speak, as at a gawai, the Iban must hedge his words by apologizing for his inability to speak, second for anything wrong that he may say. Having spoken thus, he proceeds to demonstrate that he is

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[14] See "The Animals Go Fishing," Appendix B.

[15] Positions when sitting are prescribed according to the ages and ranks of members in the group. To sit with feet outstretched towards elders or towards food at a meal is considered ill-mannered. To sit with one knee bent and the arm resting "cockily" on it is brash.

537 as facile as others in speaking. On the occasion of one gawai, I heard
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[539] one speaker begin with the following words:

Aku tu' nadai utai temu.	I don't know anything.
Tang, baka semalau	But as the warbler carries
nampong lachau,	on from the lizard,
Baka tawak nampong begau.	As the gong continues the beat
	(so I repeat what I have heard).

Emphasis upon egalitarianism, the conflicts of interests between
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[183] individuals and the community, the tensions between cooperative and competitive activities, are related to and re-inforced by the important
[626] group of beings known as antu. In the absence of social sanctions which can be enforced, and in the situation in which men do what pleases them, belief in antu serves a teleological function which is,

> "crucial to the psycho-biological functioning of the individual, and to the survival of (Iban) society and its culture."

In contrast to the beneficient Iban gods, the antu are all conceived of as evil and dangerous. Their birth probably is the matrix of hostilities, stresses and anti-social tendencies with which all people
[784] have to deal in one way or another. Among the Ibans, these problems have been reified and personalized in the antu who give supernatural sanctions to the scores of pemali ("ritual prohibitions"), providing restraints against anti-social behavior and constraint for socially-approved behavior.

The belief of the Ibans in antu serves the function of displacing their hostilities upon the antu, whereas if the true origins of the antu

996 were perceived or hostilities directed against the real sources community life would be disrupted. Living in such a close community, within sight and hearing of one another (selalu bepeda', ninga), in a jungle where on occasion men do get lost and with a simple technology, the antu represent problems of community andother fears; for example, three of the most "familiar" antu are Antu Gerasi Papa' ("The Fierce Father"),[16] Antu Kok-lir ("The Woman Who Dies in Childbirth"),[17] and Bunsu Kacha' ("The Little One Who Makes Lost in the Jungle").

996 869 796 Belief in the antu is enculturated into the members through stories about them, the personal accounts of members who have seen antu, and through a ritual performance which I have seen but once, but which is familiar to all Ibans whom I have asked about it. In this performance, an old woman dressed in a long, tattered gown and wearing a frightening mask suddenly emerged from one of the bilik about midnight. Those children who were still awake at that hour were terrified and ran helter-skelter to escape the old woman. When I asked what it was all about, the people laughingly replied that she was playing antu (antu guan), in order to make the children respect the real antu and not violate the pemali.

[16] An interesting bit of distortion in a family situation in which the father rarely if ever scolds.

[17] To repay men, a member of whose sex caused the condition resulting in her death, the Antu Kok-lir eats the testicles of those men whom she can catch. A safeguard is a daun pingan (leaf of a tree resembling the breadfruit) on the front door or over the bed.

000 make the children respect the real antu and not violate the pemali.

776 Through introjection of belief in the antu, the individual accepts as part of his behavioral environment those agents who stand behind the pemali. Belief in the antu still is virtually universal among the Iban, [57] as is the belief that anything can become an antu.[18] Consequently, all things as well as persons should be treated with respect, lest they be offended and seek revenge.

"Nothing happens without a cause" (nadai utai nyadi ngapa'), [753] [776] commented Pengulu Nuing Kudi to me on one occasion. And in the absence [756] of germ theory, most illnesses are attributed to antu.[19] When sickness [404] befalls a member of a community and the manang ("shaman") is called in for treatment, the entire longhouse community is liable to prohibitions on travel so that they are restricted one and all to the house for from one [787] to three days. One person's having a bad dream or hearing an omen bird [621] may result in similar restrictions. Through a uniform response to illnesses and omens, members of the same community equally are affected by one another's situations.

183 The emphasis upon egalitarianism for reinforcement of group 626 solidarity is perceived differently by many Ibans, especially young people

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[782] [18] Several students of mine have recounted how old jars (tajau) which long had been neglected became antu, moaning over their lack of attention. After offerings (piring) were made to them, the jars behaved as jars should.

[19] Pansa' utai ("passed by something") and kena' sangkoh antu ("speared by a spirit") are most common phrases ascribing illnesses to antu.

183 and those for whom the norm of competition and achievement take pre-
626 cedence over cooperation and solidarity. Discussing the factors involved in his movement into Sibu, one man stated that in the longhouse he felt no opportunity to get ahead.

[829] "If you are able to accumulate something, you are expected to give a gawai. If someone has a dream, you have to lose work because of him. If anyone gets sick or their stock gets some disease, others are apt to be infected. If I ever go back to the rural area, I'm going to build myself a separate house where I won't be kept back on a level with everyone else."

626 The levelling process which functions to maintain some degree of
556 relative equality among members of the same community has frustrated the
441 atttempts of some Ibans to achieve upward mobility in their home communities. In a recent case with which I am familiar, a young man was given a small grant of cash and goods by the Development Office to open a shophouse. After three years of industrious trading, he had build up his business and had about M$3,000 on savings. When the Development Officer went to the longhouse being served by and serving the shophouse, the tuai rumah and many of the tuai bilik demanded that the shop be closed. Surprised, the officer asked why, and was told that they refused to be taken advantage (enggai di-empa', literally, "refuse to be eaten") by the trader. The officer pointed out that the shop was the only one in the area, and that the profit which the trader had realized was reasonable. But the tuai of the community were adamant: the trader could not build himself up at their expense.

183 Egalitarianism is an important traditional norm according to which all Ibans supposedly are equal. Twelve years ago I heard the paramount chief of the Ibans, Temenggong Jugah anak Barieng, bemoan the way in which he and other Iban leaders were same as other members of their society.

[829] "The chiefs of the Kenyah and Kayan sit in their boats and their anembiak paddle for them. We Iban chiefs must paddle along with our people."

[178] These days are past for the Dato Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, Federal Minister for Sarawak Affairs. He and other Iban ministers no longer paddle; they are given police escorts with sirens open.

183 Although the value of egalitarianism still is held by a large
178 portion of Iban society, more mobile and ambitious members are disinclined to subscribe to it. If possible, as with the emerging entrepreneurs in each community, they will exceed their fellows while remaining a part of the
[166] longhouse. But in situations where this proves impossible and where the egalitarian demands of the community frustrate individual ambitions, movement into Sibu or some other part of Sarawak, Brunei or Sabah is likely
[829] to occur. Many young educated Ibans have expressed the feeling that there is no future for them in the longhouse. Their presence by hundreds in Sibu is in part an attempt to achieve upward mobility and greater economic rewards for themselves than are possible in the traditional longhouse situation.

D. Mobility and Opportunism

183 Related to the strong achievement orientation of the Ibans are two other closely associated values, mobility and opportunism. Mobility includes not only the traditional physical shifts of residence related to rice cultivation, but also the transfer of relations among kinsmen and non-kinsmen and changes in cultural values as opportunities for greater exploitation occur. By opportunism I mean the readiness with which most members of the society seize any perceived opportunity for maximization of personal benefit, whether in wage-earning, education, Christianity or politics.

361 At the risk of redundancy I have stressed the high incidence of mobility among the Ibans. The quality of the soils and the practice of slash-and-burn cultivation made necessary their movements each five or six years as the land near their longhouses deteriorated and yields diminished. When distances to the farms became too great or numbers more than could be [178] supported, some members of the community moved to look for new land. This pattern changed only after the Ibans became more sedentary through the shift to wet-rice cultivation, the planting of rubber gardens, and in this District the immigration of thousands of Chinese who became competitors for land.

484 574 The Ibans long have been a people on the move in other ways as well. In addition to the often-mentioned institution of pejalai, visits between kinsmen and friends are made frequently, often as not over relatively great distances. With recent improvements in communications, the incidence of visits is even higher. While men have tended to be more mobile than women, the latter also pay visits, travel to other towns to

484 sell mats and baskets, or to Sibu to see the lights. It is reasonable to
574 hypothesize that much of the visiting is to get away from the situation of being "always in sight and hearing" as well as to see acquaintances and other places.

512 Most longhouses are virtually empty during the daytime, as members of the community are scattered to rice-fields, rubber and pepper gardens, or to sawmills. Few in this District spend the nights away and after their return and evening meals, men, women and children gather in small groups on the ruai to talk about the day's work, how the farms are doing, or about an adventure of the past.

484 The high incidence of mobility, whether in the movement of a
787 community, the pejalai of a young man, a trip to the farm, or a flight
782 to Kuala Lumpur to attend the University, all are related to Iban ritual and augury. Traditionally, all movements whether over long or short distances, involving one person or a group, were attended with rituals of augury and offerings (pedara'). Flights of omen birds were noted, hepatomancy performed, and a successful trip assured through offerings to
[151] the gods.[20] Upon arriving in a new area, it was imperative that the traveller acquaint himself with the lie of the land by rubbing a bit of dirt on his forehead. Otherwise, he was liable to become sick (pedera') for having been derelict in his duty to the local gods.

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[20] This rutial has been adapted by some Christians in a worship, Selamat Bekejang ("Blessing of Leaving"), observed on the eve of an individual's departure.

484 Upon the return of a man from a trip offerings of thanksgiving
782 were made. In 1971, when Minggu anak Janti of Rumah Nyala returned on leave from the Commandos, a special service called niat ("Good Luck") was observed at Bukit Aup. Sacrifices were made and special food prepared to give thanks for the safe return of Minggu after months away from home.

181 Mobility among the Ibans is not limited to physical movement but
602 includes also the flexibility which marks their social organization and culture. We have discussed the relative ease of attachment to and detachment from the bilik-family, and how the very vagueness of the boundaries of the kin-group, kaban, permits inclusion of members of other ethnic groups as well as other Ibans. Ibans who marry members of other groups still are included in their natal kin-group and looked to for hospitality and other
[597] help by their kinsmen. In the problematic area of land tenure and the law which prohibits Chinese owning land in the Native Area, several pengulu have adopted Chinese men as grandsons, thereby legitimizing land holdings of the Chinese in the Native Area.

177 The adoption of values and styles of other ethnic groups also is
[183] related to the cultural mobility of the Ibans, and even in remote longhouses
[353] it is not uncommon to find walls plastered with pictures from the "Asia
[291] Magazine" or American west coast newspapers.[21] Iban young men and women
[302] are sensitive to new styles (Iban, stail), and many young men are natty dressers with long hair, low-slung flair trousers and even simulated leather

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[21] These are shipped in large quantities to local shopkeepers and used for wrapping purchases.

jackets, and girls with mini-skirts. I was surprised while in a barber's shop to spy in a mirror two young Iban males having their hair set in permanent waves (Iban, dikaran from "current"). Whereas a generation ago young men had their ears pierced, scores of men have had operations in hospitals in Kapit and Sibu to have the distended lobes removed. During the late 1950's, a popular style among many Ibans was to have the front teeth capped with gold as a display of wealth. Some went farther and had stones in the shapes of hearts and crosses set in the gold caps. This fad has given way in the past decade to glistening porcelain dentures.

The relative endurance of a style among the highly impressionable Iban young people and even some of their adults appears to be related to its acceptance among members of other ethnic groups. What may be acceptable in the rural longhouse may be open to ridicule in the pasar, where Ibans associate with other groups to whose opinions and criticisms they are most sensitive. For example, some men may wear the traditional loincloth (sirat) in the longhouse and while working in the rural area, but would not think of wearing it to town where only those from remote areas, unlearned in the ways of the pasar, would do so. Men continue to have their hair waved or let it grow long, wear flaired or skin-tight trousers, and pointed shoes because there is acceptance of such styles among other groups. Young women wear mini-skirts, the Malay sarong and kebaya and slacks in their conformity to stail. But distended ear lobes and stone-in-gold teeth have passed because they were unaccepted by other groups who on occasion made cutting remarks about the practices.

152 The fear of shame or embarrassment (malu) is a powerful motivation among the Iban. One of the most serious offenses that can be perpertrated against an Iban is to embarrass him and similarly, embarrassing appearances
177 and situations are to be eschewed by all means possible. Thus, personal pride and a fear of shame is one factor which motivates many Ibans to
[535] identify with and emulate members of other groups and their fashions. In some communities the traditional styles of dance (ngajat) are passing, and in the evenings young people practice rumba, tuis ("twist") and konga ("conga").

[183] [152] While fear of ridicule and shame have contributed to the acculturation of some Ibans to the values of other groups, at the same time the possibility of rewards also has been a powerful factor. We have discussed the reasons behind the clamor for education and schools as a means to employment. We now will consider the entrance of thousands of Ibans into Christian churches as an example of the norms of mobility and opportunism under discussion.

175 797 Although the Roman Catholic Church has been established in the Third Division for more than a century, until recently its work has been limited primarily to the pasars and the growth of Iban constituents restricted accordingly. Despite the establishment of the Methodist Church in the Third Division by the first Foochow settlers, the entrance of Ibans into the Methodist Church began only after the Second World War. In 1949, a group of 32 Ibans, among them Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, Pengarah Sibat anak Semada, and Pengulu Jinggut, three of the most powerful leaders in

the upper Rejang area, were baptized in Kapit. The first Ibans in the Sibu District to enter the Methodist Church were from Bawang Assan, where more than 250 were baptized on one day. During the past two decades, more than 16,000 Ibans of the Third Division, about 11,000 in the Sibu District and below, have masok Keristin ("become Christians").

The reasons why a majority of Ibans have joined the Methodist Church are illustrative of the importance of these two norms, for most of those who have become Christians are the more mobile[22] and have perceived opportunities for personal or group benefit through identification with the church. In discussing the reasons for the entrance of the large group from Bawang Assan one of the community leaders said that,

> "following the Japanese War, we were suspected of having collaborated with the Japanese. We knew that the British were Christians, and we wanted to be identified with them. So, after much discussion, we agreed that we could clear our names and show our identity with the British by becoming Christians."

We have discussed how the Christian church is looked upon as a benevolent fraternalism, an extension of the Ibans' model of the kin-group. Thus, the church is looked to as an agency for help in time of need. More than a score of Ibans whom I asked about their reasons for becoming Christians replied to the effect that,

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[22] Among more conservative and traditional communities, there is little interest in and response to the work of Christian churches.

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> "If we are not Christians, people won't take notice of us. If we are, we can get help. If we run out of money in the town (tesat di pasar, lit., 'lost in town'), we can borrow from someone. If we are sick, we can show our baptismal certificate and they will give us better medicine at the hospital. We can get scholarships for our children. There are many advantages to being a Christian."

It is hardly surprising that when anticipated rewards are not forthcoming, many Ibans "take a rest" (ngetu) from their Christianity. "It is for nothing that I became a Christian," said one tuai rumah. "My child wasn't given a scholarship."

More sophisticated Ibans who think less in terms of immediate rewards and more in terms of changing the total life-situation say that they [657] have become Christians "following others" (nitih ka orang). In discussing this subject with a Government officer, he said that he urged fellow-Ibans to become Christians because through that way they will become civilized and receive support from the outside. Continuing, he said,

> "If they don't become Christians, they will have to live by hunting and fishing. But if they become Christians, they can get employment for themselves and scholarships for their children."

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Identification with other ethnic groups through Christianity is evident in the taking of European names and names of saints. Whereas traditionally children were named after a grandparent to give identity to the child and unity to the kin-group, the present trend is to give children English names of persons and things. In one longhouse I encountered childre named John, Rocket, Bandit and Grease-pin.

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177 The participation of Ibans in party politics is a recent phenomenon, and thoroughly illustrative of the two norms under consideration. To a real extent party membership has been determined by favor and disfavor rewards and threats as perceived by members. Consequently, as political ideology is of secondary or tertiary importance to most Iban party members, a considerable amount of shifting between parties has taken place.[23]

In 1963, Ibans comprised 32 per cent of the membership of the Sarawak People's Party (SUPP). Because of the SUPP's opposition to the plan for Malaysia and for other reasons as well, British officers brought pressure to bear upon Ibans to dissociate themselves from the party. With the establishment of Malaysia and the more favored positions of other parties, thousands of Ibans did dissociate themselves from SUPP to join the other groups.

Mobility and opportunism have been evident in the shifts in affiliation of not only individual members but also of entire branches of parties to their advantage. Although in some cases, members of the Opposition were elected while standing under the opposition party's name, they have crossed the floor to join the ruling party following their election.

E. Luck

777 The final value in Iban culture that we shall consider is a complex of attitudes and activities which we subsume under the rubric, luck. By

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[23] For a thorough discussion see Leigh, 1970:74ff.

[777] luck I mean the imponderabilia of life, both good and ill, which may be fully felt but little understood. In the habitat to which the Ibans have adapted with lack of effective control over many aspects of their lives, luck has come to mean those occurences and developments which sometimes are perceived as being good, other times as being bad, but over which the individual and the group have little if any power.

Good luck is the summa bonum of life according to a majority of Ibans questionned. It is the value above all others, and blessed is the man upon whom it falls. Good luck is the clearest and most certain sign [796] of the favor of the gods. The man who has good luck (betuah-limpah) is sought to give blessings at gawai, that his fortune may spread to others. [782] In his prayer, interceding on behalf of others, he asks that they, too, may have good luck.[24] Good luck is evident in success and achievements. The man who has it harvests bountiful supplies of padi year after year. Formerly, the man with good luck was in the right place at the right time so that he performed acts of bravery and took human heads. The couple blessed with good luck have many children who are obedient and responsible,

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[539] [24]The words of the following prayer are commonly used, and familiar to all Ibans: "May so-and-so, though already tall, may grow to be like the tapang (Koompassia excelsa, 'the king of the trees'); though already strong, may be as strong as a boulder; may he be healthy and satisfied, secure and at peace, cool and sheltered, and blessed with long life." (Awak ka sanu' taja ia udah tinggi' tau' tinggi' baka tapang, taja' udah kering tau' kering baka batu galang; awak ka ia gerai nyamai, senang lantang, chelap lindap, gayu guru nguan menoa).

pass their school examinations, and take care of the parents in their old age.

No person is blessed with good luck continually, and the concept of bad luck serves to rationalize failures, the inability to cope with certain situations, and to save face. Although Manang Biga' of Rumah Gaong left his farm after planting and went on a shamanic tour of the Oya River area, the failure of the farm was attributed to bad luck. A childless couple may be suffering from any number of health problems including malnutrition, but their childlessness most often will be attributed to bad luck.[25] Iban children in the first grade in rural schools are already two years behind their urban counterparts, who are enrolled in kindergartens[26] by age four. Their attendance is casual and few do any study at home. Yet, recently, when I asked a teacher in a rural school about his child's results in the Common Entrance Examination, the father replied that his son had failed. "No luck" (nadai nasit), he replied, though his habits were consonant with those described above.

In a culture whose practitioners hold that "nothing happens by chance" (nadai utai nyadi ngapa'), causal explanations are sought for

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[25] In several longhouses where occupants discovered through conversation that our children were in order son-daughter-son, they were convinced that we had some kind of medicine (ubat) and besought me to divide some with them.

[26] Because of the intensely competitive examination situation, primary school education has been pushed forward through the proliferation of kindergartens.

everything. An old man suffers a stroke: assaulted by an antu. A young child contracts gastroenteritis; passed by an antu. A mother has a difficult delivery: the passage has been blocked by an antu or by "black magic," so by sympathetic magic doors, drawers, windows and even the roof if necessary are opened to make a way for the baby's birth.

Despite the importance attributed to luck, and the lack of understanding of many of the occurences that take place in their lives, the Ibans are by no means passive about their fates. Rather, they have developed an elaborate complex of beliefs and rituals through which they attempt to manipulate their circumstances to their benefit.

If given proper respect and treatment, the gods (petara) are benevolently inclined towards the Ibans. The gods of the Ibans may be characterized as creator and functional beings.[27] Little attention is paid the former group, but the presence of the more functional gods is invoked for the events and activities over which they hold power. Offerings are made to them and supplications presented that they may help the Ibans according to their needs.

On the other hand, the antu are invariably malevolently inclined and seek every opportunity to do man harm. As we have described, the antu

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[27]The creator beings include such beings as Seremugah who made the earth (ke ngaga' tanah), Segundit who made the sky (ke ngaga' langit), and Segundi' who made water (ke ngaga' ai'). The functional beings include the gods of agriculture, warfare and other important activities.

716 represent projections and personifications of areas of problems both in adaptation and in relationships. Antu are held responsible for most of the misfortunes that befall the Ibans, and attempts are made to guard against them. Medicines (ubat) and charms (pengaroh) are commonly used. Carved wooden figures (pentik) stand like sentries to guard the approach to some longhouses. Amulets (engkersbun) are tied around the necks of children to ward off antu-borne illnesses.

787 Traditionally, admonitions and warnings from the gods have been communicated through the seven omen birds, the sons-in-law of the Kite-god, Sengalang Burong. Messages have been sought from these birds for all events of moment, such as taking a trip, planning a raid, planting a farm, or choosing the site for a new house. The birds protect both individual and community from harm, if the Ibans understand the meanings of their flights and calls and obey them. I was in a longhouse on the Menyan River once when a red-crested bird alighted. The red was taken to be analogous to fire, and preparations were hurriedly made to make offerings (piring) to the bird. In April, 1971, while in conversation with a group of men of Rumah Imba, Salim, Apai Juli recounted in an elaborate bit of apolgetic th ways in which omen birds had helped him. He said that on one occasion,

> "I was going to my farm when suddenly a kikih (Rufous piculet) cried its alarm shrilly from my right. I turned around and went back to the longhouse. The next day when I went to my farm, the bird cried again and that time darted across my path. Again, I turned back. That night, there was a bad storm and a large tree fell across my farm-hut. Had I not paid attention to the bird, I would have been killed."

In their attempts to ensure good luck in their work and lives, and in lieu of other means of effective control over their environment, the Ibans have highly ritualized their activities.[28] For example, there are more than two dozen rituals that must be observed for the individual from the womb to the tomb, beginning with a blessing entoned as a cock is waved over the new infant and concluding with the great mnemonic Gawai Antu. The building of a new longhouse involves more than a dozen major rituals, commencing with the "checking of the site" (ngabas taba')and climaxing with the Festival of the New House (Gawai Rumah Baru). The Iban longhouse must be built parallel to and fronting on its water supply, and constructed so that the course of the sun cuts right across the width of the house, rather than down its length in which case the house would be "hot and unhealthy" (angat).

The acceptance of Christianity by many Ibans has not been in place of but rather in addition to their old faith. The attitude of a majority of Christian Ibans is, if being Christians brought good luck to the more technologically advanced westerners, may be it will do the same for us. Thus, it is understandable that the faith and practice of the Ibans is syncretistic, with the Christian trinity placed alongside traditional Iban gods. A common sight in many longhouses is a wooden cross on the door, over which hangs a daun pingan with mysterious marks in lime, or an offering basket (kelingkang).

[28] The major rituals related to various activities number well over one hundred.

177 basket (kelingkang). On one occasion I observed a Christian service at
771 the farms of members of Rumah Nyala. Following the service, I noticed
777 one man surreptitously take a chicken and return to his field where he sacrificed the chicken, beseeching Pulang Gana to give him a bountiful harvest. His rationale was that if one service didn't work for him he had better try the other.

177 Contact with other ethnic groups and acculturation has begun to
787 erode the faith of many Ibans in their traditional rituals as means of ensuring good luck. Augury is rapidly disappearing in this District, for few young people are interested in learning about the birds, preferring rather to spend their evenings listening to Radio Malaysia, strumming a guitar, playing cards (daun sekerupong), or talking about the latest Government scheme and how they can get funds for their farms. Despite the syncretistic nature of Christian Iban religion, the combined influences of Christianity and science have brought about a general loss of faith in the gods of the ancestors (petara aki' ini'). In the words of one Iban farmer,

[829] "Our Pulang Gana nov is in the Agriculture Department."
[369] At the same time, there has been a decrease in rituals that is almost directly proportionate to distance to the distance from the pasar; that is, the closer the community is to the Sibu pasar and subject to its influence, the less attention is given to traditional ritual activities.

183 The Ibans are activists and with their orientation to achievement
178 the more determined ones work to make certain that good luck comes to the
Less reliance is placed upon ubat, pengaroh and engkerabun and more upon
education of young people, contacts with kinsmen and friends for exploit-
ation, and awareness of opportunities for obtaining Government grants and
[654] employment. Recently, when the Agriculture Department announced that it
would give aid to pepper planters, more than 2,800 Ibans made application
[464] through the Sibu office.[29] When the Sibu Rural District Office adverti
for one position of an office boy, 61 young men, most of the Iban, applie
[462] for the job. The division of labor described in Chapter Four in which
women do the main work on the farms and men supplement the family's in-
comes with wages is an increasing pattern among Ibans of this District to
ensure good luck and a good life.

181 In summary, the culture of the Ibans has been one of the most
183 important factors in their becoming the most aggressive of the indigenous
peoples of Sarawak. Individualists and achievement - oriented through the
processes of socialization and enculturation, the Ibans moved into the
Rejang subduing, driving out or assimilating the other groups. Motivated
by a grammar of values including self-sufficiency and class distinctions

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[29] Ironically, the grants are in the amount of M$ .05 per pepper vine. Most Ibans who make application must pay five dollars to a literate Chinese or Iban to complete the forms for them, and spend on an average of ten dollars in travel and meals, so the grants pay off only when made for more than 300 vines.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

181 deriving therefrom; cooperation for the benefit of the group and competition
183 for maximization of individual situations; the ideal of the equality of the self vis-a-vis others; the encouragement of mobility and opportunism through speech and example; and an activistic approach to obtaining good luck in their undertakings, many Ibans have found in their traditional culture values which have been pre-adaptive for their participation in [177] modern society. Some have related to modern society through adjustments in behavioral patterns in rural areas. Others have entered the pasar, where despite numerous changes, they still have maintained their ethnic identity.

128 We now will consider the characteristics of those Ibans who have moved into the pasar, together with brief biographical accounts of four individuals who have been selected as being representative of those who retain their residence in the rural areas and commute daily to Sibu, and those who have moved into Sibu for work and study.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

IBANS IN TOWN

A. Commuters and Residents

171 In recent years the proportion of indigenes in virtually all the Southeast Asian cities and provincial towns has increased. In most instances this reflects the increasing movement of indigenes to the urban areas rather than the decline of alien groups, such as Chinese, Indians and Europeans. The factors involved in such in-migration vary from case to case, and the intensity and frequency of interaction between members of the same and different ethnic groups show a considerable range. From available data, one factor that predominates in the in-migration of indigenes is the quest for employment and wages. The interaction between members of the same and different ethnic groups range from what may be described as minimal contacts in some situations to high intensity and
128 frequency to others. In this chapter, we shall examine the factors relating to the in-migration of Ibans to the Sibu pasar, and through the use of biographical accounts examine the patterns of interaction that have emerged.

000 Within the past decade the Iban population in the Sibu pasar and

Within the past decade the Iban population in the Sibu pasar and its environs[1] has increased almost ten times. From a resident Iban population in the Sibu Urban area of 693 in 1960, the population has increased to more than 5,000 Iban residents (including the Field Force and their families) at the present time.[2] Whereas the Iban residents formed just over two per cent of the urban population in 1960, today they comprise a little more than eight per cent.[3]

There is little reason to anticipate a decline in the in-migration of Ibans to Sibu, whether on a temporary or more permanent basis. Rather, given the generally poor soil conditions that exist in many areas; the unpredictable climate with unseasonable flooding as in August, 1971; the firm belief of the indigenous population that double-cropping of padi will not work;[4] the problems of hunger in many upriver areas and the

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[1] Although administrators decline to include the Lanang Road Field Force in their consideration of the Iban population of Sibu, the exposure to and effects of the urban center as a type of adaptation upon members of the Field Force and their families are incontrovertible. A similar situation obtained from the Sarawak Rangers and their families before their move to the new camp at Oya Road which in itself is becoming a new pasar.

[2] A principal difficulty encountered in carrying out this study of the Sibu Urban area was the lack of census data. Because of the greater importance attached to political affairs in Western Malaysia, according to a senior official in Kuala Lumpur, the census data for those states have been processed first, and after the completion of that work the data for Sarawak will be processed.

[3] We have mentioned the movement of one entire longhouse community from Sungai Jih to Sibu following a terrorist attack on their home. Other groups and individuals have added substantially to the Iban population in Sibu.

[4] That double- and triple-cropping will work if carried out as a community activity has been demonstrated by agriculturalists.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

167 small returns on rubber and other cash crops; and the problem of maintaining security in such a vast jungle as the Third Division;[5] and finally because of the perceived rewards in the pasar, we may expect that even more Ibans will move into Sibu and other pasars because of the multiplex of factors which exert push-and-pull influences upon them.

243 433 511 Although Rumah Nyala is representative of many of the longhouses in the Sibu District with increasing rice yields because of participation in Government schemes and through improved techniques of horticulture, yet it and the other houses that are largely self-sufficient in rice are in stark contrast to a majority of the other houses in the Third Division.[6] For example, in the hillier regions[7] of the Song and Kapit Districts, the family that is able to produce enough rice to last from one harvest to the next is exceptional. Because of poor burns and the 1971 floods, some longhouse communities exhausted their meager rice supplies six to eight [262] months before the harvest. In such cases, the families have been dependent upon Welfare packages, rice which they have been able to purchase from the sale of rubber and other products, or have been reduced to eating sago.

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[5] The Third Division has been made a special security area (Sarawak Tribune, 26 March, 1972) and the possibility of regrouping of longhouses (Sarawak Tribune, 27 March, 1972) has been mentioned.

[6] It is to be recalled that even in our sample in the Sibu District where production is among the best in Sarawak, only 36 per cent of the Ibans produce enough rice for an entire year.

[7] Much of the upriver area is so hilly that terracing is impossible, and flat land for planting wet rice is minimal.

249 511 The fall of rubber prices over the past two years has made the situation of many more Ibans critical. We have noted in Chapter One that most of the rubber produced by Ibans is either unsmoked sheet or Grade 5 (RSS), for which tappers may expect ten cents (Malaysian) per cattie. It is not surprising that most people have stopped tapping their trees,[8] and in some cases actually have cut down their trees.

659 [113] [484] Maintenance of security within the Third Division is an awesome task. Divided by the Rajang River and its scores of tributaries, the land is a patchwork of swamps and hillocks in the lower areas, rising to high hills cut by swiftly flowing streams in the upper reaches. Travel is difficult at best for roads for virtually non-existent outside the pasars and the Sibu-Oya-Kuching development. Despite modern weaponry and air-borne troops, the mushroom tactics of the elusive terrorists in the heavily wooded terrain make their containment a militarist's nightmare.[9]

167 Considering the problems of making a living and the unsettled conditions due to terrorist activities over against the attractions which many Ibans perceive in urban areas, it is understandable why some of their number have opted for life in the pasar, and why we predict that more are

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[8] Except those persons who have mature high-yielding trees.

[9] One official estimates the number of terrorists in the Third Division at 700, but the exact number is unknown, and by strikes and hiding they rarely encounter security forces except by design.

167 likely to do so. We now will consider the circumstances and factors related to groups and representative individuals who come into Sibu daily as commuters or who have moved into the town as more or less permanent residents.

B. Commuters

464 The principal characteristic of Ibans who travel in and out of
167 Sibu daily to work is their proximity to the pasar. Workers from Rumah
493 Nyala use bicycles over a path past Sungai Merah into Sibu. From Nanga
494 Assan, Langgup, Bidut and other nearby areas, workers use launches or small ferries, either bringing bicycles with them or using the bus service near the jetty to get to the place of employment. About one dozen men drive private taxis from the Oya and Durin Roads, bringing in passengers from their communities and other fares that they pick up along the road.
[427] Although transportation is available for greater distances, the cost of the fare is prohibitive so that persons from more remote areas find it cheaper to rent a room for twenty-five dollars.

462 Commuters include both men and women. Men predominate in various
167 types of work offering regular employment, such as gardening, construction, brickyard, clerking, and custodians. Though there are a few exceptions, most men who commute are employed in labor activities with relatively low rates of wages. Most women who commute are best categorized as self-employed (nitih ka kereja diri' empu), such as selling vegetables
000 in the Iban market or as bar-girls. Of the fifty-five members of Rumah

Of the fifty-five members of Rumah Nyala who are wage-earners, seventeen commute daily to Sibu. Fifteen of the commuters are men and two are women.

It is among commuters and their families that the pattern of women doing the farm work and men supplementing the family's income with wages occurs. Unlike permanent residents in Sibu, among whom both husband and wife live in town and depend upon the husband's income, the commuters have realized the advantages of not having to buy their rice and at the same time having cash to buy other food and for other necessities and valuables.

In Rumahs Nyala, Imba and Gaong the main shophouses are maintained by commuters or, in their absence, other members of their families. The men who work in Sibu use the occasion of their daily trips to purchase goods for their shops as well as to dispose of any produce which they may have purchased from members of their communities. The success of each of these shops may be attributed to the diversification of activities - farming, wage-earning and shopkeeping - so that the families have other resources upon which they can call if one or the other fails them. It also may be attributed to the acumen of the men who manage to maintain amicable relations[10] with other members of the community yet at the same time are able to call in payments for debts so that they are not bankrupted by overextension of credit.

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[10]Local jealousies can quickly bring ruin to a business if other members of the community feel for whatever reason that they are being exploited by a fellow.

159 Enchul anak Rengga, Apai Jimmy, of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, is re-
167 presentative of those Ibans who retain their residences in rural areas
177 but have become intimately related to the values of the mercantile society of Sibu. For the insights that it may afford us, we will consider his life and work in detail, to understand both Enchul as an individual and those aspects of his personal history which reveal the effects of the pasar on the urbanizing Ibans.

Enchul was born in the old house of Rumah Imba, Salim, in about [563] 1932.[11] He had four brothers, one of whom was an adopted Chinese. Enchul's father died when Enchul was fourteen. All of the brothers married out of their natal bilik except his adopted Chinese brother who still lives with Enchul's mother in Rumah Imba and takes care of her.

Following his father's death, Enchul went to school at Bawan for about six months. He was older than the other students and embarrassed about studying with younger boys, but he was determined to learn to read and write which he did in six months. While in school he also studied arithmetic (sam) and after returning to his home a Chinese shopkeeper taught him how to keep accounts and to do simple figuring. He gave him advice on how to buy and sell so as to make a profit.

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[11] Until recently, Ibans kept no records of births, these being remembered by residential sites or areas of farming when a child was born.

159 Enchul went travelling (bejalai) to see more of the country and
167 to learn as much as possible through his trip. He worked at Miri for
177 three months painting pipes for pumping gas from the shore to ships and
484 then went to Baram where he worked for five months, tapping rubber on the
464 edge of the jungle. After he had saved enough money for his return and to begin trading, he returned to Salim.

584 After his return to Salim, his mother arranged for him to marry
594 his third cousin who lived in Sengan. In 1952, Enchul was married and because his wife was an only child, the adopted daughter of her parents, he went to live in her bilik. Before going on his trip, Enchul has saved M$1,400 and he had accumulated another M$ 400 during his travels. He had tried to save the money because he had been told by the Chinese shopkeeper how much money he would need to set up shop for himself. Enchul's father-in-law already had obtained a license to trade in the Sengan area, but hadn't opened a shop because he knew that he couldn't carry it on alone and he didn't trust any of his peers. Therefore, when Enchul married his daughter, his father-in-law agreed for him to open a shop off their tanju".

Enchul's shop has done a steady trade and he attributes his success
847 to a basic self-sufficiency in rice production. In his words,

> "I never have had a bad year or a year when I didn't get enough rice to carry through until the next harvest. I have never known want (bulan gantong sendok). Therefore, because I didn't have to buy rice, and often had enough to sell, I have been able to save and to invest my money. Year by year, I have

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[829]

been able to build my capital and reserves. Also, I have been thrifty and not wasteful- not seeing movies or playing around with women, because I figure I am already married."[12]

Enchul's wife and parents farm both swamp and hill rice and have good harvests from each. Unlike ninety per cent of the members of his [829] house, Enchul has a surplus of rice every year. In his opinion, successful farming is a matter of planting and hard work.

> "The reason why only about one-tenth of the people in our house succeed in farming is that the others don't undertand the conditions for farming. Some farm too early, others too late. Some clear but don't weed, some weed but don't harvest. Others start their farms after we are finished. It's not so much a difference in luck or land. We farm the same kind of land as others who are unsuccessful in farming, and we get rice. It depends on hard work (tulang, lit. "bone"), not land. Those who are short of rice aren't unlucky but just don't farm or don't know how to farm."

[437] Because of their outstanding success in farming, Enchul's family often provides rice for other families in the house in exchange for labor, at a rate of one gantang (M$2.20) per day.

Unlike many other Ibans who sold their land near the roads as soon as they were opened, Enchul bought all the land he could afford. He and Embuas ank Imba have gone together and purchased all of the land two lots

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[12] Enchul is a keen cock-fighter, taking off each Sunday for Oya Road or Durin, making up losses suffered in betting thro h fares he carries to and from the fights.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

159 deep from Mile 5½ to Mile 8½ on the Durin Road.
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[829]

> "Most Ibans don't know how to handle the changes that are happening. An Iban sells his land for M$1,000 and then hands it right back to the Chinese when he buys things from him. I tell the people in my house that on Chinese New Year the Chinese go to Tua Peh Kong (Deity of the Earth) and give thanks for us Ibans."

The first years after Enchul opened his shop were hard and filled with heavy work. He and his wife farmed, and he tried to get his shop going. He paddled a longboat down the twisting, log-choked Sengan to the mouth of the Menyan[13] where he loaded his cargo of rubber onto a motor launch going to Sibu. The trip from his house to Sibu took two days. He spent one day in Sibu doing business, and then returned to Sengan, arriving home late on the fifth day after he had left. When able, he hired two helpers, a prowsman and a bailer. After three years, he had saved enough to buy a small (5½ horsepower) outboard motor.

In 1960, Enchul had saved enough money to buy a rice-mill, explaining that he thought it was too much trouble for women to have to pound rice in the traditional way or to have to take the padi down to Nanga Menyan to have it husked. The mill is still in use and people who use it pay Enchul one dollar per picul to husk their rice.

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[13] In 1958 during one of the worst droughts in the history of Sibu, I travelled up the Sengan with Enchul, the trip from the mouth of the river to Rumah Gaong taking ten hours.

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After purchasing the rice-mill Enchul still had money left and invested M$400 in two tracts of land west of Rumah Gaong. He built a cattle-shed and bought fourteen head of cattle, a hearty type that could live on the scrub-grass of his land.[14]

After he had bought the cattle, Enchul heard that the Government was going to open a road to Oya. He began to plan immediately to buy a car realizing that it would be easier to travel by land than by water. In 1966, after the road had been cut through the forest some three miles distance from Rumah Gaong he bought an Austin van for M$9,850.

> "I studied how to drive - really hard - because at that time we Ibans didn't know how to drive a car. I didn't hire a teacher, but studied with Chinese with whom I was familiar, such as Ah Lin and Teh Ong, a tailor on Channel Road. Because they hadn't seen an Iban driving a taxi or car for profit, they didn't charge me, figuring that I was just going to play with my car."

After he thought that he knew enough, Enchul went to Sibu and made arrangements to take a test for his license. He and three of his companions met a Chinese who said to them,

> "Never mind taking the test. If you will give me one hundred dollars each, I can get your licenses for you."

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[14] Enchul has planted three species of grass obtained from a Government center to supplement the sparse grass and shrubs of his land.

159 The four Ibans gave the Chinese one hundred dollars each and he told them
167 that on the day of the test, all they had to do was to go in to the
177 License Office and pick up their licenses. He said that he didn't work in the office but had a friend who did and could issue the licenses without a test for that amount.

> "He took our money and took off for Brunei where he still is. Needless to say, we didn't get our licenses and were out one hundred dollars apiece."

Realising that there was no easy way to obtain his license, Enchul decided to prepare himself for the test. But rather than taking the test immediately, he went to the testing office and lounged around while others were asked questions about laws of the road and driving. Most of his friends and many others failed the tests. When Enchul thought that he knew the answers to all the questions that possibly could be asked him, he took the test and to the surprise of Chinese and Ibans alike, passed the first time. He began driving his car, hauling goods for sale in his shop or for his own use, and carrying friends to and from Sibu.

When he heard about the Class Twelve License for taxi drivers, Enchul began his pursuit of it. The first two times he took the test he failed.

> "I figured that people who lived in the city had ways of passing, so I asked some of them about how to get the license. On 30 March, 1971, I took my test and passed it with great trembling and fear. I paid (the man) who taught and recommended me M$300 and smaller sums to other men with whom I studied and asked questions."

159 With the Class Twelve License, Enchul plans to operate a taxi on the
167 Durin Road, looking ahead to the time when he is too old or inclined not
177 to farm or tap rubber.

Enchul takes great pride in his son and daughter, both of whom passed the Common Entrance Examination and entered the Sibu Rural Secondary School. Because his own education was limited, he recognizes the potential values of higher education in the intensely competitive employment situation in Sarawak, and also in terms of the general knowledge which may be useful in what ever activities they undertake.

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> "A lot of children don't understand how to study and aren't encouraged by their parents, because the parents don't understand the benefits of education beyond the possibility of their children getting a salaried position and they, the parents, living off the money their children make. 'If the father is speckled, the child will be speckled' (Enti' apai buik, Burik anak ia). If the parents know how to plan and work, the children will also. But for the most part, we Ibans don't know how to plan in terms of long-range goals."

Enchul has achieved prominence in his longhouse community where
[554] his family is the most successful. His prominence is predicated on successive annual harvests of surplus crops of rice, and an unexcelled longevity in profitable shopkeeping. His daily trips to Sibu provide him with income from fares as well as with valuable contacts with friends. He is a familiar person to Chinese and Ibans alike on Channel Road, and representative of those Ibans who are adapting to the pasar, and in many respects acting as cultural brokers, while maintaining their residences in the longhouse communities.

000 We now shall consider the Ibans who for various reasons have moved into Sibu where they have taken up their residences.

C. Residents

162 A majority of the 200 Ibans in our sample have come into the
167 town from the Third Division. Twenty-nine came from the First and Second Divisions, two from the Fourth and one from the Fifth Division. Of the 168 persons from the Third Division, 81 or almost one-half came from the Sibu Rural area, and the other 87 from the other districts of this Division[15]

167 The predominance of Ibans from the Sibu Rural area may be attributed
177 in large measure to the much longer and closer contacts they have had with
464 the pasar. Living closer to the town, they have become job-wise and employment seekers and their relative proximity to the pasar has provided them with greater access to information about openings. As one young Iban man commented,

[829] > "Whenever there is even a hint of some vacancy, Ibans swarm around the office like flies around sugar. By the time people from farther away hear about the opening, we already have it."

Further, the positions that have been obtained give the employees a chance to help secure placement for their kinsmen and friends. For

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[15] The persons from other districts in the Third Division include six from Sarikei, 21 from Binatang, 23 from Kanowit, 13 from Song, 20 from Kapit, and four from Mukah. I am aware that persons from other districts as well reside in Sibu, but they were not encountered in this sample.

464 example, a recent vacancy in a council office attracted 61 applications
167 from young men. The man finally selected for the position did not have
177 ostensibly higher credentials than other applicants, but by his own admission had a friend on the selection committee who helped him get the job.

464 A majority of the Ibans who have come to Sibu from the First and
167 Second Divisions are employed in government or military service. They
177 have come by transfer or appointment to Sibu, having been recruited in
647 their home districts or divisions. The two persons from the Fourth Division are government employees and the man from the Fifth Division is a member of the Sarawak Rangers.

167 Residence of the persons sampled follows the type of employment
177 (Table 15, p. 197). Government employees live in the main in quarters provided for them, though in some cases provision is made for their renting other quarters. Most other residents occupy rented rooms alongside the numerous side-roads off Lanang and Queensway Roads. As noted, there is no area that can be called an Iban ward, though our sample revealed a large number of Ibans living off Kai Peng and Mission Roads, because of the accessibility of these two roads to the pasar.

871 Of the 200 Ibans surveyed, 119 have had some formal education,
167 ranging from a minimum of one year to a maximum of Doctor of Medicine
177 from Ottawa University. Fifty-four have studied in primary school, 28 of whom completed Primary Six and stopped after failing the Common Entrance Examination. Sixty-two attended secondary school, 23 studying through Form Three and failing the Sarawak Junior Examination. Three of

871 the residents have been to universities abroad.
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177 Only one of the 29 persons from the First and Second Divisions has had no education, the high incidence of schooling in this sub-sample reflecting the much longer history of education in those Divisions. The other 80 uneducated Ibans are from the Third Division. Thirty-seven of that number are women including the ten who described themselves as self-employed and seven of the waitresses and bar-girls.[16] The remaining uneducated women are housewives. Of the 44 uneducated men, 18 are construction laborers, five are trishaw drivers, and 21 are in the Sarawak Rangers.

871 It is interesting and significant to note that two of the con-
464 struction laborers have had seven and nine years of education each but,
167 unable to find other work, they have taken up manual labor. This is in-
177 dicative of a certain category of urban resident who, though small in number at present, will increase greatly over time. These are secondary school-leavers of whom more and more will find their ways into the towns. We have discussed (page 192) the separate survey of students who attended aided secondary schools in Sibu between 1960 and 1970. As noted in that discussion, none of the 143 who returned the questionnaire have taken up residence in the longhouse. The over-saturation of the market with

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[548] 16. Three of the bar-girls have had Primary Four education and one has studied in Form One. Generally, however, girls becoming self-employed prostitutes or bar-girls have low educational backgrounds and no other way that they can see to "advance themselves" (ngemansang ka diri').

891 secondary school-leavers, however, has changed this situation, so that
464 within the past two or three years, a number of these young people, and
167
177 especially from poorer quality private secondary schools, have had to return to their longhouse communities. In many instances such school-leavers have been disillusioned with the social situation in which they have found themselves, having anticipated employment which they could not obtain. They find adjustment to life in the longhouse difficult if not impossible keeping their eyes open to any opportunity for employment outside. Many find themselves so at odds with the interests and goals of their elders and peers as to conclude that they have no future in the
[571] longhouse. They drift back into Sibu where they form small gangs and live by their wits, hanging around the streets until some opportunity presents itself. Many more of this type of resident will manifest themselves in the future in Sibu.

58 Almost three-fourths (148) of the persons surveyed were found to
167 be married. This is not surprising given the virtual universal practice
177 of marriage among the Ibans, many of whom marry by age 15. Of the total sample, 119 men and 29 women were married and living with their spouses
[592] in Sibu. A little more than half (76) of the men came to Sibu before their families, leaving their wives and children in the rural areas until they found work and housing and then moving them into Sibu.

584 While only three persons indicated that their marriages had been
167 arranged by their parents, almost eighty per cent (117) married persons
177 from their home longhouse or from some other rural community. Twenty-six

584 persons have married in the pasar, in most cases their spouse being some
167 one whom they met at the place where they work. Four persons indicated
177 that they married school-mates, and one man met his wife at a party.

593 Responsibility for parents continues to be a concern for a large
167 majority of the urban Iban residents. This is revealed in the fact that
177 in only ten cases had the couples not discussed their marriages with their parents and settled the matter of who would marry out (sapa ke nguai).

591 In a significant shift away from the predominance of uxorilocal residence,
167 such as we found in Rumah Nyala (Table 23) in 86 of the married persons
177 surveyed the woman had married out, and in 52 cases the man had married out. When asked about the reason why the woman married out, in most cases the reply was that she follows her husband (nitih ka laki ia) who is the wage-earner, so that there is little argument that can be made on the part of the woman's parents for the man to nguai. It is important to note that in the case of Rumah Nyala, the woman maintained her residence in the longhouse, whereas in the cases under present discussion she has moved to the pasar.

[888] The incidence of ten couples who had not discussed the matter of their residence and responsibility with their parents is important in that it represents an abdication of accountability for aid to the older generation.[17] As more couples arrange their own marriages in the pasar,

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[17] The fear of this abdication of accountability and responsibility has been encountered often when discussing the movement of Ibans into town for education and employment. In the words of one old man, "We know that if our children go into town, they no longer will think about us and help us. But there's nothing that can be done about it."

591 it is anticipated that more cases of neolocality will occur, with no dis-
167 cussion and definition of which spouse marries out.
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In fifteen instances, there is frequent visiting between the
593 parents and couple. In three cases, the parents live with their children
167 to all intents and purposes, returning only occasionally to the longhouse.
177 In the other twelve cases, the wife pays frequent visits to either her
606 parents' home or the home of her parents'-in-law, helping them with work, food and attention.

More than three-fourth (168) of persons asked indicated that they help their parents with money, food, clothing or work. While the veracity of such statements is difficult to certify, from observations in several families it would appear to be true generally that most children take some responsibility for their parents in the rural areas. I have often seen parents bring money orders into the post office, having received them from their children in Malaya. Residents in Sibu frequently buy coffee, sugar and other foodstuffs as well as clothing for their parents and younger siblings. It may be expected that this pattern of partial support of children for parents will continue, in the absence of any other social security for the rural elderly.

A little over three-fourths (155) of the total sample indicated
167 that they preferred to live in the pasar, and would not return to the
177 longhouse community. The primary reason given for preference of life in
829 the pasar was the greater economic opportunity. Several stated that life in the rural area is too precarious: a rice crop may fail and the price

of rubber may vacillate; food may or may not be available. But in the pasar, there is no shortage of food and there are ways to get money with which to buy it.

Secondary reasons given for preference of life in the pasar are related to medical facilities and education. Several persons said that the unhygienic conditions of the longhouse and the lack of medical aid influenced their decisions to live in the pasar. Others said that the standard of education in rural schools is of such poor quality that the only chance for children is to get them into urban schools, beginning preferably at the kindergarten level.

Interestingly, many of the long-time residents of Sibu stated their preference for life in the longhouse. In several examples of informants saying one thing but doing another, men who have lived in Sibu for more than 20 years maintain that the only place where young people can become "true Ibans" is in the longhouse. A majority (43) of those who chose rural life are in the Sarawak Rangers. They indicated that they would serve out their time with the Rangers and then retire on pension to their longhouse communities. Only time will tell whether they return to the longhouse or continue to live in Sibu or some other pasar.

We now will consider in turn the examples of three residents of Sibu, who are representative of the larger population of Ibans. In the case of the last two, pseudonyms are used. These individuals personify many of the patterns of behavior and characteristics of the urbanizing Ibans and, it is hoped, will help to give more concreteness to elements

159 already discussed about the Iban population as well as social and cultural
167 norms.
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Anyau Rakit is representative of a large number of Ibans who have established their residences in Sibu, having found employment in various government departments or with companies. A man of quick mind and high ambition, he is one of the best-known Iban residents in the town.[18]

Anyau was born on 1 September, 1917, "of a middle class family," near Stras in the Binatang District. His family was neither very poor nor very rich, and had moved to Stras from the Second Division to escape the predations of more hostile Ibans (see quotation, page 83). His recollections of his childhood are a mixture of hardship, owing primarily to occasional shortages of food, and happiness, with a relatively close family life and playmates. While he was still young, his family moved to Nanga Nansang where they farmed, bringing him into contact with the large Iban community at Bawang Assan where many of his later ties were formed.

[197] When he was eight years old, he entered the Roman Catholic Mission School in Sibu where he did well in his studies and his quickness was perceived by his teachers. He was one of the first Ibans in the District to attend school, a fact of which he is quite proud. In 1929 and 1930, he attended St. Thomas' School in Kuching, returning to Sibu in 1931 and

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[18] In 1971, Anyau was selected to serve on the Public Service Commission for a term of three years and now is living in Kuching, though he still maintains his home in Sibu.

159 completing his seventh standard in 1934 in the English Department of
167 Chung Hua School.
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[829]

> "Because of the Rajah's policies about Iban education at that time, I couldn't continue my education. He was afraid that educated Ibans would be dangerous Ibans."

Having been away from his parents and life in the longhouse for almost ten years, Anyau returned home,

[829]

> "to acquaint (myself) with the customs and life of my people. Though only a few of the native boys went to school and possessed such academic qualifications at that time . . . I had to humble myself and mix freely with the poor and rich people alike."

In early 1936, Anyau was recruited for work by the government. He was appointed a Forest Guard, a position which he held for one year, [584] when he left the service in order to marry his first wife, Piah. Piah was the sister of Jonathan Banggau, whose family had seen Anyau's ability and diligence and, in the words of a mutual friend, "wanted Anyau for a [586] member of the family." The marriage lasted for several years before the couple were separated, at about the same time as Anyau took up a position as a Sarawak Native Officer (kunsil) and was posted to Binatang.

In line with the Third Rajah's policy of including more non-Malays in administrative positions, Anyau states that he was due to be appointed to the position of District Officer when the Japanese invaded Sarawak.

[777]

> "My life has been plagued with bad luck. Each time I worked diligently towards a good position, only to see it taken away from me just as it was within my grasp."

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Shortly after the Japanese invasion, Pish died. Following the period prescribed for a widower to show respect to his late wife and her family (entebalu), the kinsmen of Inoh made arrangements for her and Anyau to be married. Anyau was childless by both of his wives, so he and Inoh adopted three children, two daughters and a son, Mas, Nancy and Julian.

Following the surrender of the Japanese in 1945, Anyau was seconded to work with the British Military Administration as a correspondent in Labuan. [875] Upon his return to the Third Division in early 1946, he took up a teaching post in the Bawang Assan Local Authority School. He taught in the Bawang Assan school for nine years, working also as an inspector of native schools in the Sibu District.

> "I was proud indeed because Bawang Assan school under my supervision was making steady progress since 1946 to 1954, and it was noted with credit for being able to send more than 80 per cent of its students for secondary education to Batu Lintang Training College, Kuching."

In November, 1954, Anyau was called to work in the Cooperative Development Department, and held the post of Cooperative Officer. Taking up residence in Kampong Baru, Sibu, he travelled widely in the Third Division, encouraging Ibans,

> "to become productive and thrifty in order to uplift their standard of living as other communities such as the Chinese and others."

In 1960, Anyau entered the more formalized political activities by standing for election to Council Negri. [664] A man of small resources, he could not compete with other candidates, especially in the giving and promising of favors for votes, and he lost.

159 promising of favors for votes, and he lost. He continued work in the
167 Cooperative Office until 1967, when he retired after twenty five years
177 and eight months service.

> "I insisted to obtain retirement earlier due to the fact that I was requested by my native people to take up politics as they have ... confidence that I could be a good leader in the country."

Anyau's integrity soon was to be put to the test, when he was appointed a member of a small commission to adjudicate a land dispute of major proportions in the Third Division. Living on his small pension at the time, he was offered a sizable gift if he would render decision in favor of one of the parties. He refused to accept the gift, maintaining that,

> "my motto is to be fair with others and honesty is the best policy."

When elections were announced in Malaysia for 1969, Anyau was in-
[665] clined to align himself with the opposition party, SNAP. He was prevailed upon by Dato Ling Beng Siong, a prominent Chinese timber tycoon, philanthropist and Alliance member, to work for him in the Pesaka Party Office in Sibu. A strong individualist and utterly loyal to his benefactor, Anyau occasionally found himself at odds with some of the party members. As a result, when the selection committee met to put up their candidates, another man was chosen to run in the ward in which Anyau wanted to stand.
[666] Undaunted, Anyau stood for election as an independent under the sign of

18 Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

159 the clock.[19] Again, however, he could not compete against the campaign
167 of his opponent and lost the election.
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[666] Following the election, Anyau had considerable time on his hands in which to consider other ways to gain a position in government. Although himself Christian,[20] Anyau's lengthy residence in the Malay kampong, his numerous contacts with members of the ruling Alliance, and his unquestioned integrity, placed him in a favorable position for consideration to a government post. After the several disappointments in his quests as a civil servant and politician, he deemed it only just when he received word that he had been appointed to the prestigious Public Service Commission,[21] a post for which he is eminently qualified. His perseverance and patience have brought to him the rewards which he has sought.

Callisto Berin is a school-leaver from the Kapit District. Like many other young people for a variety of reasons, she is disinclined to

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[19] One of the several signs related to candidates to help illiterate voters identify the candidates of their choice.

[797] [20] Anyau was one of the men responsible for the entrance of more than 250 Ibans of the Bawang Assan community into the Methodist Church in 1953, seeing in Christianity a way of "progress and civilization."

[21] A commission that serves to review promotions for all government employees, the members of the P.S.C. receiving substantial salaries and allowances.

159 return to her longhouse and now is living with her husband in Sibu where
167 they met.
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Berin was born on the 3rd of July, 1953, near Nanga Entuloh off
591 the Balleh. Even before Berin was born, her mother dreamed that she should give Berin to another woman some distance from their home. She was the youngest of 14 children. When she was one week old, she was taken to her foster-mother,

> "because she had been awaiting my birth. Fortunately my foster-mother had herself just given birth but her child had died, so she was brave enough to take me, and had the milk to nurse me."

159 Berin has strongly ambivalent feelings about her childhood in the
167 longhouse of her foster-parents. Her best friend was a little boy, Wilfred
177 Nyawai, who was about the same age as Berin. The two played and as often
855 fought together.

> ". . . I was a quarrelsome child and quick to scold others. . . Because Wilfred was a boy and stronger, he often beat me. However, we were good friends, playing together with his sisters and with his grandparents and mine."

As she grew older, her mother left her in care of her sister-in-law while she went to the farm. According to Berin, her sister-in-law resented her and the responsibility of having to look after her.[22]

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[22]Having doubts about the veracity of some of Berin's life history, I sought out her cousin who verified all parts of it, corroborating her reluctance to return to the longhouse because of the differences between her and her adopted family.

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"When I was left with my sister-in-law, I lost a lot of weight. Because, according to what people told me, my sister-in-law didn't look after me, and I was fed by people on either side of my bilik. Our neighbors took care of me, seeing to my needs of eating, sleeping and comforting me when I cried. I often had trouble: my mouth was burned because the milk was too hot, my stomach was scratched, and my knees, shins and arms were marked by my falling and because no one cared for me."

On two occasions, Berin almost drowned in the swift water near her home when she followed other people into the water. When her mother realized that her sister-in-law no longer could be trusted to care for her, she left her in charge of other people in the longhouse.

In 1961, Berin entered Temenggong Koh's school. Her mother took her to school in the morning and came for her each noon.

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"(Each day) she brought me a bottle of milk because even though I was already in Primary One, I was still nursing. I didn't go off the bottle until I was in Primary Two. I often was scolded by the teacher because I would say that I had to relieve myself when in fact I wanted to get the bottle."

Berin became close to two of her classmates: Marietta Adang and Margaret Mia, both of whom were the same age as Berin. Whatever the one said the other two would do.

During the first years in primary school, she learned to be more independent.

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"I learned the difference between 'yes' and 'no,' to be ashamed (malu), and the spirit of competition because I did not want to be defeated by my friends (enggai alah ari pangan), both of whom were very keen in school."

Berin was very close to Wilfred, Margaret and Marietta, but she did not make friends easily. The three were her only friends until she reached secondary school.

[164] In the third grade, Berin contracted typhoid fever and couldn't attend school for a month. She was seriously ill for about a week. Because of the harvest, her mother had to spend the night away and the people who had been asked to look after her didn't do so. During the night she became delirious and thrashed wildly about in her bed. Luckily the people in the next bilik heard her and came in to care for her. The people went to the farm though it was night and brought Berin's mother back, for they didn't know whether she would live. She recovered but the illness severly weakened her.

Like many Iban children, Berin was sensitive to scolding and particularly by members of her adopted family. Once while washing a glass, she dropped it and it broke on the floor. Her sister-in-law was angry with her, grabbed a piece of burning wood and stuck it onto Berin's hand. The next evening she dropped a brass lamp which fell and broke a plate. Her foster-mother got a broom and swept Berin's face with the broom.

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> "Because of the troubles that had befallen me on those two successive evenings, I felt that there was no one who loved me and didn't care if I lived or died. Even though they had fed and cared for me for a long time, at that time their love meant nothing to me. I ran from the bilik not knowing where to run. Feeling that I had nowhere to go, I flung myself off the tanju'. My uncle had followed me and as I leaped, he grabbed my arm and hair and kept me from falling. He took me to his bilik where I stayed for a while."

[73] In 1966, Berin's house was hit by a flash flood. She was alone in the house and terrified as the water rose.[23] Fortunately, her section of the longhouse withstood the flood and by climbing above the rushing waters she saved herself. The same year, Margaret Andang died leaving only Marietta of Berin's close girl friends.

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Berin's happiest experiences were spent with the girls of her longhouse. With them she would gather various types of fruit of season, fish with baskets and pound derris root, and collect jungle ferns.

> ". . . More than all other things I loved to play asin (cross-catch) and passing the stone. I really enjoyed those games."

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At the end of her sixth year of school, Berin failed to pass the Common Entrance Examination. Though she thought that she couldn't go on

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[23] Flash floods in many upriver areas can be awesome experiences; for example, in 1970 a flood hit the Menuan River just below Kapit, sweeping a recently constructed bridge and seven units of one longhouse before it.

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159 to school, she was given a work scholarship to the Methodist Secondary
167 School, Kapit, and lived in the Girls' Hostel. Her experiences away
177 from home were rewarding in the friendships that she made, particularly with the hostel mother. During the school holidays in her first year, she returned to her longhouse to help tap rubber and with farm work.

> "When the illipe nuts were in season I gathered as many as possible. I worked hard for I realized how much I was indebted to the family who had raised and cared for me. At the same time I realized how much I had suffered at their hands. . .For the past few holidays, I haven't gone back to my foster parents because they haven't care whether I returned or not."

In 1969, Berin took the Sarawak Junior Examination and failed it. When the opportunity appeared for her to enter a private school in Sibu,
[152] she accepted. Again, she became very close to the hostel mother though her relations with her peers were strained and complicated by unresolved conflicts towards her mothers[24] and herself.

> "I met (the hostel mother) here and she has become my friend so that I don't have any more longings to go back to my mother who gave me birth."

During her second year in the private school in Sibu, she met a member of the security forces to whom she was attracted. He in turn was attentive to her, taking her on dates, giving her presents and a fun-time

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[24] In relating her life history, Berin made several remarks about her desire to "return to the mother of my birth." It is significant that the only adult male figure to appear in her account is her uncle.

159 in the town. After about one year's courtship, they became engaged and
167 Berin dropped out of school to marry him. Because she was a Methodist
177 and he a West Malaysian Muslim, they had a civil marriage. When Berin refused to even consider returning to her longhouse, they have established their residence in Sibu awaiting the end of his tour of duty in Sarawak when they will move to West Malaysia.

Although Berin's case has a number of unusual features about it, by no means is it exceptional. Rather, it serves to illustrate the breach in expectations that often occurs between members of the older generation who are more oriented to traditional norms and members of the younger generation who are more open to new values. In Berin's case, the interpretations that she has made of her family relations are satisfactory rationalizations to her of a situation to which she is unwilling and unable to return. Despite the estrangement that she depicts between herself and her adopted family, her foster-mother fully expected her to return to the bilik, and Berin in Sibu as soon as she heard of the marriage. This expectation was based on the fact that Berin now is the only child of her bilik-family and was looked to as the parents' heir and supporter in old age. Nevertheless, Berin's orientation now is away from the longhouse community and it is doubtful that she will return to that pattern of life except for occasional visits.

Johnny anak Meling was born just after the end of the Japanese occupation at Sungai Tutus, a tributary of the Igan River. Melin, his father, had been born at Tutus and his mother, Rani, had been born at

159 Bungan farther down the Igan. Meling and Rani are first cousins, and
167 their marriage was arranged by their parents. Johnny has four brothers
177 and one sister, all of whom are living the same house as their parents.

Johnny's family was very close, the relations between the siblings most amiable. They played together with other children of the longhouse and other than for small incidents, Johnny remembers no fights or disagreements that marred their life. Though Johnny and his wife have lived in Sibu less than two years, all of his siblings as well as his parents have visited him.

His schooling ended withe Primary Four because he was disinterested in the subjects which he had to study.

> "My favorite subjects were drawing and art. The other lessons were difficult and I just couldn't get them. So I stopped school after Primary Four."

With abundant land and an adequate labor force, Johnny's family has never had to buy food. Growing wet rice on two principal areas which they farm alternate years, they always have been able to live off their own rice and never have been forced to buy rice in Johnny's memory. His mother, sister and other women in the community are the principal farm workers, so that the men are released to seek other forms of employment.

After he stopped school, he joined his father in working for a sawmill near their home. When work at the sawmill was cut back and they were laid off, the two of them and other men from their community went to other areas for work in logging and sawmills.

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When he was sixteen Johnny was married following the traditional pattern of courting (begayap). After he had visited the girl whom he wanted several times at night and she had agreed with his intentions, he made arrangements through his parents for them to ask the girl's parents. Agreement was reached, and a Gawai Melah Pinang was held. The marriage lasted two years after which the girl returned to her parents' bilik.

Johnny remarried when he was twenty but the second time with less ceremony. He gave his new wife a gold ring, paid one dollar and informed the tuai rumah and tuai bilik (beterang ka tuai) that they were marrying. Like Johnny, his second wife also had been married and divorced.

Johnny continued to work for the sawmill near his home until he was 23. Hearing an announcement that the Field Force was recruiting personnel, he applied and to his delight was accepted.

> "I wasn't needed for farm work and I was tired of working at the sawmills. That work is hot and heavy, the days long and the wages low, so I figured that I would rather get into something else. That's the reason why I signed on with the Field Force."

When he and his wife moved into Sibu in May, 1970, their quarters were not ready. They were housed together with other recruits and their families in the new shophouses along Lanang Road. Upon completion of the Field Force barracks they moved to the Lanang Camp in May, 1971.

Because of his work in sawmills throughout the Third Division, Johnny knows a large number of Ibans, Chinese and Malays with whom he has worked. Many of these men he has met in Sibu and they visit him and

159 frequently have drinks together in the numerous pasar coffe shops. Johnny
167 and his wife go to the pasar whenever possible, their favorite pastimes
177 being going to the movies (especially Hindustani) and sitting over a drink in the coffee shops, watching the people go by.

159 Johnny's parents and his wife's visit them about once a month,
574 bringing rice, palm cabbages and other vegetables. Other members of their
167 home community stay with them from a night to a week, and sometimes longer,
177 when they are in Sibu on business or keeping a sick relative in the hospital Such visitors are welcome and repay their hosts with bags of rice, fruit which may be in season, fish, pork, and vegetables.

> "I never charge them for staying with me, for that wouldn't be right according to Iban adat. Besides, they bring in food to help and I am glad to see them."

159 Johnny enjoys the security of a regular income, though by his
167 calculation, his salary of M$ 160 a month is not very much. Of this a-
177 mount, he gives about M$ 30 each month to his parents. Despite what he
[465] considers to be a rather low salary, he feels that this is better than the uncertainity of other activities.

> "When I was younger, we Ibans put emphasis upon farming. Now, it's education. Formerly, people wanted a son-in-law who was strong so that he could help them with farm work. Now they aren't choosy just so he earns wages. In the past parents wanted to know from which family a man came. Now, they want to know how much his salary is each month."

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159 Johnny's wife is not employed, but he gives her a small amount
167 for herself above their food money. As often as not he buys their food,
177 a pattern that is common among many Iban families. His wife resents his going to town for no reason and his "wasting money" by drinking and cock-fighting. Otherwise, however, their relations are congenial.

He is not sure of his future. By his own evaluation, he has a good life in the Field Force. The only aspect of it that he doesn't enjoy is having to stand guard duty at night. But otherwise, he feels, his housing is provided, his salary and gifts from family and friends adequate, and he lives an easy, worry-free life near the pasar where they are things to see and do.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

128 In the Introduction to this study, questions were raised about the effects of urbanization on indigenous societies and cultures. In light of the foregoing data we are now prepared to draw conclusions about effects the emergence of Sibu as an administrative center-cum-entrepot have had on the Ibans.

177 The growth of Sibu into a bustling urban center has had a profound influence and powerful impact on the Ibans of the Sibu District and Third Division. From the time of the establishment of Fort Brooke and the forced settlement of recalcitrant Ibans under supervision of its staff, Sibu has grown in importance upon the cognitive maps of Ibans, so that today it is a center to which they repair when funds and time permit. The frequent contacts and long associations with Malays and Chinese, the other principals of the area, have led to social and cultural exchanges from which all have emerged as borrowers.

195 659 177 The Brooke strategy of population control through the construction and staffing of forts at key points was highly effective in suppressing traditional Iban practices of migrating and head-hunting. The forced settlement of some Ibans and the voluntary settlement of others who sought refuge from their predator peers were of immense importance in

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light of ecological and structural changes that have occurred. Ibans traditionally had practiced shifting cultivation to which the institutions of pejalai, augury and head-hunting were related. Those who settled for whatever reasons near the fort found themselves in a situation of impeded mobility,[1] and required to undertake new forms of adaptation.

Ecologically, the settlement of Ibans in the District required a shift from dry-rice to wet-rice cultivation among those who settled on the banks of the major rivers. Alternatively, they could farm hill-rice at some distance from their homes. The shift to wet-rice cultivation was an adaptation to the flatter lands and higher water table. New techniques for cultivation of wet-rice fields were learned and were accompanied by the development of a new liturgy suitable for wet-rice cultivation.[2]

Sedentariness and proximity to the town have provided opportunities for the development of new techniques and cultivation. The examples of Chinese and instruction of agriculturalists have helped raise the yields of Iban rice fields. The introduction of pack-sprayers and selective herbicides together with other aid contributed by the Agricultural Department have helped to strengthen the dependence of the Iban farmer upon the pasar.

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[1] Movements continued within the District, but these were involved primarily with the spread of Ibans along the banks of the large rivers or the ascent of their tributaries. Impeded mobility resulted from Government regulations and from the immigration of Chinese settlers.

[2] Comparisons of rituals observed by Ibans practicing dry-rice cultivation and those practicing wet-rice cultivation reveal numerous differences.

175 At the beginning of this century, recognizing that they were here
361 to stay, Ibans in the Bawang Assan area constructed the first permanent
342 longhouse in memory, the rumah papan ("house of planks"). Previously,
178 house construction had been predicated upon the frequent movements of the shifting cultivators, and was of an impermanent nature. Sedentary settlements of Iban groups have been marked by the erection of substantial longhouses. Although the future of the longhouse domicile may be in question, Iban house-types, whether individual dwelling or attenuated structure, are permanent buildings.

654 A radically new concept of land tenure resulted from the establish-
423 ment of the Lands and Survey Department which claimed the right to re-
197 gister land and to issue permits and titles. In Iban polity land was held under usufruct rights by descendants of a pioneer who cleared it. Land disputes were settled within the longhouse community by appeal to senior members or others who were familiar with migrations and genealogies. Setting up a department to handle land matters represented an incursion of external authority into Iban society, the erosion of traditional polity, and the orientation of its members to the Opis Lan Ensabi as the locus of power in land matters.

177 The Second Rajah's encouragement of Chinese trade and immigration
657 helped to produce a situation he wanted to avoid, in which sociocultural change has taken place among the Ibans. The frequent contacts and long associations of Ibans with Chinese and Malays have led to social and

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cultural exchanges from which all have emerged as borrowers. Shortly after the settlement of Ibans in the District, the Rajah's policies encouraging the immigration of Chinese were implemented. Thousands of Foochow, Cantonese and Henghua settlers arrived in the state and began their spread up and down the banks of the major rivers of the Third Division. Although brought into the state to grow rice, the Chinese learned painfully and quickly that rice cannot be grown profitably by hand and that greater gains lay in rubber and pepper. The more astute Ibans were fast to follow the example of the Chinese, planting gardens and harvesting cash incomes from the new crops. The shift to rubber and pepper was a step of both economic and cultural importance. It led to a diversification of incomes from resources more dependable than collection of jungle products. Conservative Ibans saw the shift as one away from rice cultivation and potentially destructive of traditional values (cf. p. 37).

Production of rubber and pepper involved an increasing number of Ibans in the embryonic trade network which grew in Sarawak in the first decades of this century. Heretofore they had exchanged jungle products with Chinese and Malay traders. Rubber and pepper were more reliable products, and often more easily obtainable. Although the Ibans long had exchanged forest produce for such valuables as jars and brassware, the establishment of permanent settlements and more regular incomes from cash crops contributed to an acceleration of this trade.

178 439 Until the last decade or so, the trading network was operated almost entirely by Malays and Chinese. Only they had the external contacts in Singapore, Malaya and Hong Kong to handle imports and exports. Within the past decade, however, Ibans have begun to supplant Chinese traders at the village level. For, more than jars and brassware moved [436] over the trading network. Through the exchange of goods Ibans have acquired an orientation to a cash economy and mercantile mentality, the better to obtain more goods and status.

183 198 The traditional value system placed a premium on performance in the areas of rice-cultivation and bravery, among men, and weaving skills [462] among women. New values of money and salable materials provided new bases [464] for differentiation between members of Iban society. Employment and [871] education, available principally in urban areas, have eroded traditional values and radically affected Iban social structure.

175 657 167 Although the Ibans were related to the pasar through the trading network and administrative functions which increasingly impinged upon their lives, the Brooke government discouraged the movement of Ibans into the pasar for fear of changes in the traditional society and culture as they had conceptualized them. The Brookes and their officers conceived of themselves as protectors of an Iban ethos which they had stereotyped. The role of the Ibans was cast in terms of the military functions which they might perform and every attempt was made to preserve [871] this role. They were permitted to attend mission schools but there was no encouragement or support from the Brooke government for Iban education.

195 Given the pressures to conform to rural roles interpreted for them by
657 government officers and unsubtle dissuasion from moving into the pasar,
167 it is hardly surprising that few Ibans found their ways into the towns.

175 Towards the end of the Brooke Raj, Vyner Brooke made plans for
657 liberalisation of Iban administration. These plans were cut short by the
[871] Japanese occupation. However, following the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946, new opportunities were made available to the Ibans for education and for participation in a broader range of political and economic activities. Local authority schools for Ibans were opened in
[631] rural areas. Selected Iban students entered secondary schools. Participation of Iban leaders in councils at all levels was encouraged.

175 The economy immediately after the war was in a quiescent state,
648 for many Chinese still maintained a "back-to-China" dream which precluded their investment of profits locally. The establishment of the Communist government in China shattered the dream, and served to stimulate the local economy. Unwilling to return to China and risk their fortunes, local Chinese invested in businesses, land and buildings. They soon were joined by other Chinese who fled the mainland and swelled Sibu's population in the 1950's. The economy received a further boost when the Korean War brought a demand for rubber which soared to unprecedented prices, giving way to timber as the major export only in 1964. Exploitation of rubber and timber made cash available to the public generally and allowed quick fortunes to be amassed in a few cases.

653 As cash became available to Ibans and other indigenes they had
177 the means for acquiring goods in the pasar. The development of a cheap
167 public transportation system by water and road in the 1960's provided ways to and from the pasar. The sense of distance between longhouse and pasar was reduced as the travel time was shortened, and Ibans who long had been attracted to the pasar began to enter into its activities in increasing numbers. Some have made periodic visits to the pasar, others took up residence. Whereas there had been a reticence on the part of many Ibans to make their homes in the pasar, owing in part to the sense of distance from their fellows and in part to the closed economic system as they perceived it, over the past decade several thousand Ibans have moved from their longhouses to the town. The pioneering efforts of a few Ibans have led the way for many others.

Exposure to other ethnic groups and acculturation have led to
177 changes in residence pattern and economic activities among the Ibans of
361 this District. In the rural areas the longhouse domicile remains the
621 most distinctive characteristic of Iban settlements, but social and
[342] physical fragmentation is increasing as more members of the longhouses spend less time in them, and in several hundred cases Ibans have erected
[178] permanent individual dwellings. It is important to note that if the longhouse community declines in favor of separate houses, the seat of the community's meetings and ceremonial activities, and area of socialization, viz., the ruai, will shift. Perhaps it is the other way around and the longhouse is diminishing in significance as less importance is attached to the ruai-centered activities.

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to the ruai-centered activities.

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167 The long history of cooperative activities between Ibans and members of other groups has contributed to the movement of some of the former to the town. Encouraged by their abilities to relate to Malays as partners (udong) and Chinese as patrons (toukay), accepting values from both, and supported by the increased presence of members of their own group, Ibans have taken up various types of employment and quarters among other ethnic groups.

The growth and changes in the Sibu pasar have both affected and been effected by structural and cultural changes in the Iban population of the District. Meaningful employment has come to be defined in terms of cash returns. Relations with members of other groups have resulted in a sharpening of incipient class distinctions. Education and earning potentials have taken precedence over descent lines. And attractions and amenities of the pasar have drawn Ibans, some temporarily, others permanently, into the activities of Sibu.

Whether they move into Sibu or remain in rural areas, the lives of Ibans have been changed by the growth of the town and its population. For all of them, physically and culturally, it is now only a short distance from longhouse to pasar.

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APPENDIX A

Selected Documents

000 "New Settlers, Sibu" (Sarawak Gazette 1 April, 1901) His Highness, the Rajah, accompanied by the Hon'ble H. F. Deshon, visited these people on the 21st and 22nd ultimo, during His Highness' visit to the Rajang.

The settlers are from Foo Chow, and style their place "the new Foo Chow," and are the pioneers of a large colony of agriculturalists, which is being organized by Mr. Nai Siong, with some assistance from the Government. . .

They are looking well and seem to be happy and contented, and are now commencing to make gardens and to plant paddy and vegetables, and in a year or two will make a great change in the appearance of the country by cultivation on a regular and extended scale.

This new settlement will soon become one of the show places in Sarawak, which will be all so different from every-thing else we have been accustomed to see in this country. The population is now five hundred men, women and children, but this number will soon be increased by new arrivals from China, and there is ample room for many tens of thousands, and every convenience around them. They have both hilly and low lying land,

timber of all kinds suitable for all purposes, and an abundant supply of good water, with a deep river by which vessels and boats can bring in supplies and take out produce, and, what is most important, a healthy climate, and an invigorating one for such Easterns as the Chinese.

We may safely conjecture that this first batch of settlers in these parts are the forerunners of many thousands of Chinese who will follow before many years have passed, in fact we may say that one of the first steps of any importance has been made to colonise and develope if not the whole of this great Island at least the North-West part of it, and that this influx of immigrants will steadily continue through many future years is almost a certainty, and there is probably room for five to ten millions in the island, and from three to five millions in this part of it.

No better Settlers could probably be found than agricultural Chinese, but to keep such people in order a just and impartial rule, in which both rulers and ruled alike do their portion of work, is required. Like other Easterns they need a Government simply formed and tutored by experience gained in the country itself, experienced in the manners and methods of the people, devoted to their welfare and interests, an indigenous product of the country which it governs, untroubled by agents or officials sent from outside, who, partly owing to want of reciprocal feeling and sympathy with the people, and partly through ignorance and adherence to unpracticable laws, are liable to make such fatal mistakes in their dealings with Easterns, which naturally leads to discontent and even to rebellion."

000 "Cultivation of rice in the Rejang" (SG 2 June, 1919)

According to an agreement made by the late Rajah with Mr. Wong Mai Siong, a Foo-Chow colony was established on the Rejang in 1901, "for the purpose of cultivating rice and vegetables" (See Agreement, Art, 1). There is an impression abroad that these colonists never made an honest effort to plant rice. This is a mistake.

1. The first year they all planted rice at Seduan on the Sungai Merah, but they used rice they had brought from China, and being seed adapted to a colder climate it matured too soon. When the stalks were only a foot high, it began to head, the heads did not mature, and the crop was not worth harvesting.

2. The second year they tried again planting two crops. The first crop was a failure because it was planted too early in the season to make way for the seond crop, the second brought nothing principally because of the birds which concentrated on it, being the only rice in the neighborhood.

[243] 3. The third year they tried the Dyak method of just cutting and burning without cultivating (as in former years they had done in China, and expended much time and labour). As might be expected, this failed completely.

4. The fourth year they were so discouraged and homesick that they refused to plant, and lived almost entirely at the expense of the proprietor. This soon brought him to bankruptcy, and the colony on the verge of failure. At this junction the Rajah thought the colony would do

OOO better without the proprietor, and he was removed from the country.

5. The next year it was necessary to plant rice or starve as there was no proprietor to supply it, and, as it happened, they got a good crop.

6. By this time many had begun to plant pepper, and in a short time everybody was planting as much as it was possible to take care of.

7. For the next two or three years the rice crops were more or less of a success, but the time came when it did not pay to husk the rice, aman's labour was worth more doing something else. . . This difficulty was solved by the introduction of a rice-huller.

8. Rice cultivation then took a new life with some hope of supplying the market of Sarawak. But there were many partial failures . . . Very seldom was a full crop harvested.

9. Then came rubber, and the planting of rice gradually fell off, because when people have money as these people have, it is much cheaper to buy rice than to raise it, always providing there is any to buy.

10. Then came the war, and last year the bazaar ran short of rice several times. With much persuasion and some fear, everybody put out rice, but the crop, with a very exceptions, is a failure. When the rice was about eight inches high, floods came and submerged it for more than a week, leaving it half drowned from which it did not recover. How here we are with rice dearer and scarcer here than it has been before, and we have no rice of our own. Malay and Milano rice here is a total failure.

000 With the years and experience in rice raising I have had, in this country, I may be excused if I try to explain how I think rice can be successfully cultivated.

1. It cannot be done the way the natives do it. It is a gamble in which they lose nine time in ten. They never get what might be called a full crop.

2. It does not pay to do it by hand, even by the best methods, under the best supervision, except of course in starving times like these when rice is not to be had at any price. Mr. Davis of our Mission tried it out at Bukit Lan; a hundred weight of padi cost him $13, when rice was selling at $8 a hundred weight in the bazaar. This of course was a bad year; but it never pays, labour is too dear, and other things pay better, even working jelutong.

3. Nevertheless, if rice could be planted with a reasonable hope that a full crop would be harvested, a lot more would be planted.

4. The things that make rice planting so precarious an undertaking are worms, grasshoppers, birds, pigs, deer, floods and drought.

. . . . . .

To sum up, the following are necessary:

1. Cultivation in large tacts.
2. Select land of proper elevation with regard to floods.
3. Use machinery-tractors, ploughs, etc.
4. Irrigate when necessary.
5. Competent supervision.

(Sgd.) J. M. Hoover.

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A DAYAK INVASION

Christmas and New Year at Sibu

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177 Boxing Day passed off peacefully, the prevailing calm being broken at intervals by the whoops and yells of boatloads of Dayaks, who seemed to arrive every few minutes. Everyone who was present will remember this as a Dayak Christmas, - for ten days the island was crowded with them, and the officers on whom fell the burden of organizing the aum had a lively time of it. It is a curious fact that the Dayak, a most independent and self-reliant gentleman in his own country, at once becomes as helpless as a child, if he thinks that there is any chance by this display of helplessness, to cause someone (preferably a European) to make a fuss of him. To listen to the hard-luck stories of most of the Dayaks made one think that they had never left their homes before, and that starvation was the least of the perils with which they were faced; it was not a little amusing to hear Dayaks whom one knew personally to be more than a match for even the shrewdest Chinese traders, complaining in pathetic tones that they were utterly lost in the turmoil of a great city like Sibu, and that unless they were looked after every minute of the day and kept well supplied with belanja, they would surely perish; and it was no less amusing after this confession, to see them go straight to the nearest gold or silversmith's shop and buy up a good proportion of the stock without

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199 batting an eyelid! Oh well, Dayaks are not the only people who like a
175 try-on.

Dayaks are everywhere, in the streets, in the shops, on the wharves, on the padangs, and of course in the Government offices, where the cry of minta belanja, Tuan, rose like the wailing of a great multitude, and their
175 outstretched palms were thick as the spears of Senacherib. All of them
177 were in their smartest clothes, and weired and wonderful was the display
292 of Iban finery, ranging from the dirty white trousers and co-respondent shoes of the "civilized" Dayaks (great are the blessings of education), to the resplendent chawats and gorgeous woven jackets of the upriver people. Hats shewed a like diversity, the most popular being a red fez wrapped with a kind of cloth-of-gold in which were stuck artifical flowers; but there were also other varieties, notably the "donkey's breakfast," of which there were one or two fine examples, and a kind of Homburg of a poisonous green tint, worn in some cases athwartships, and not fore-and-aft. This later style was most effective, and was indeed only rivalled by a Wolseley helmet of about 1887 vintage, which acted as a sort extinguisher to a Dayak of venerable aspect, whose long grey hairs rather clashed with the martial aspect of his head-gear.

175 Ornaments included the usual bead necklaces, silver chains and
301 bangles, but the whole jaw of a honey-bear, embossed with gold and worn around the neck as a pendant, excited much favourable comment. Tiger-cat's teeth, too, were prominent, but earnings were not as good as might have been expected; it needed the Kayans to provide really good specimens of this form of decoration, and no Kayans had come down.

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000 this form of decoration, and no Kayans had come down.

195
657 On the 27th, 28th and 29th December, preliminary meetings were held to prepare the materials and clear the way for the final aum besai on the 31st. These meetings were conducted by the Resident with the assistance of the Secretary for Native Affairs, and were attended by Administrative Officers, Native Officers and all Penghulus. It was decided to standardize the Dayak customs and fines throughout the Third Division and, after many hours of talk, this was at last accomplished, the assembled chiefs agreeing to a draft code.

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SARAWAK EDUCATION AND THE PEACE CORPS

by Sheldon Schaeffer, PCV/ Sarawak

000 . The biggest problem for the education system in Sarawak (and perhaps for the future stability of Sarawak) is the unemployed school leaver.

The Problem

Of every class of 40 Form 1 students entering school this year, at least 25 will be unable to continue to Form IV after the Sarawak Junior Examination of 1972. Five years ago, such a loss was not a great problem; Form III leavers commonly became primary school teachers (especially in rural areas) and many eventually received training or found other government jobs. Today, these 25 school leavers will remain unemployed.

Of the 15 who continued through Form IV and V, perhaps two will be able to enter Form VI, and a similar number will enter teacher training schools or find work in various government departments. Five years ago the remaining 11 could easily have found similar work. Today, they will remain unemployed.

Of the two students entering Form VI, one may be fortunate enough to receive a scholarship for university study after graduation. But the

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other, unless he finds temporary work as a teacher, may well remain unemployed.

Thus, 90 per cent of the students entering Form I this year, a step commonly recognized by them and their relatives as preparation for government employment, will never the goal. This picture of wide-scale unemployment and under-employment will, in the years to come grow steadily worse, and while a stratum of frustrated, dissatisfied youth does not now exist in Sarawak, the possiblity of such a group forming (with subsequent dangers to the stability of Sarawak) in another five to ten years cannot be ruled out.

How did this situation come about? Why are there so many unemployed school leavers and, more importantly, why should they even be considered unemployed? The answers lie in both the quantity and quality of educational opportunities in Sarawak. First, in a spurt of activity in the last five years, in response to the demands of a developing state, dozens of new Form I classes and Form IV classes have been formed in both old and new schools. Undaunted by problems of staffing and supply, these schools have burgeoned as an integral part of Sarawak's growth. Such development in itself is not a mistake. Education--the development of skills, this disciplining of the mind, the creation of new insights and new horizons--should be expanded. Such expansion becomes a problem, however, when the school system becomes identified with something more than "education," with something that promises (but does not guarantee) a better life. And the school system in Sarawak, its courses and the attitudes it promotes, has at least implicity promised and this better

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000life, a promise that cannot be fulfilled.

Throughout the history of modern Sarawak, the government employed European or Sarawakian--has been a beneficent and respected figure, avoiding the exploiting role of many colonial administrators elsewhere. To become a government employee, therefore, has meant many things: social status (and the titles and uniforms to match), economic security, a comfortable life with relatively modern conveniences, and, essentially, identification with a Western (rather than a native) style of life.

In the past, secondary schools fit snugly into this picture, preparing the right number of civil servants needed to teach and to administer the Sarawak Government. Because there were so few schools, entry into one was regarded by all as an open ticket to the benefits of government employment--a ticket grabbed at eagerly (and understandably) considering the limited economic opportunities and primitive life styles Dayak and Malay villages. And at that time there were jobs available to leavers of these schools; students from Primary 6 to Form VI found jobs ranging from primary school teachers to senior positions in government departments. Everything fit; the schools fulfilled the needs of the administration by teaching the necessary skills to the necessary number of future civil servants. They did not need to concern themselves with skills or attitudes useful outside of government work.

Eventually a vicious circle began. The visible success of educated officials led to increased demands for more primary schools at village levels. Increased primary school attendance and primary 6 passes, along

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000 with the felt need for further educational development, led to more junior secondary and then senior secondary schools. Expansion followed rapidly; enrollments grew. The students and their families felt indeed fortunate that they, too, could partake of the abundant award of government service. But something happened that, though predictable, was not foreseen. The increase of available government positions did not keep pace with the increase of graduated students. School leavers and their families, led to expect success and rewards, crashed. The result has been the ever-increasing numbers of Form III and Form V leavers who cannot attain the positions which the education system has best prepared them for. They become "unemployed" whatever alternative they take--either returning to their communities to resume the work of their fathers or becoming a part of the ever-larger group of wandering job-seekers grasping after the few positions that are available.

Ideally, the school leavers who returns to work in his village should not consider himself unemployed. But he cannot consider himself proudly and usefully as an "educated" farmer (or fisherman or lumberjack) because the school system, both in intent and in effect, has not prepared him for such a role. Many rural students, after Form V, have been boarders in schools for eleven years, returning home from the modern, clean, ordered, and basically happy atmosphere of their schools only during short holidays. Their villages become interludes in their lives, representing, to many periods of hard work, uncomfortable conditions, and

a strangely adult-centered society. What this does to a student is obvious. Culturally, he becomes estranged from his own customs and traditions even though, because of his intelligence, he would perhaps be best able to carry them on. Socially, he becomes separated from the spirit of his community and especially from his peers. And psychologically he becomes marked as a failure. To have to return to a community after so many years away from it; to return to farming, fishing, or lumbering when for so long his world has been reading, writing, and figuring; to return to his family after not achieving the positions which his family has been preparing for (and paying for) for years--these are the demands on the school leaver. It's the rare student who make the adjustment easily.

"The Animals Go Fishing"

539 Long ago, all the animals met to plan a fishing trip. The tapir was chairman and all the other animals listened intently as he presented the plan. The next day, they paddled to the river where they were going to fish. After pounding the derris root, they spread it over the water and speared the fish as they floated to the surface. That night, they worked together cleaning and smoking the fish. The next day, the deer and pig were left to guard the fish while the others went fishing again. When a large antu came along, the deer and pig ran away, leaving the fish for the antu to eat.

The next day the monkeys wer deputed to watch the catch, but when the antu came again, they too fled. All of the animals in turn guarded the fish only to run away when the antu appeared.

"I'll watch the fish," said the tapir, "but I won't run away." However, despite his courageous words, when the antu came, like the others the tapir also escaped.

The following day, the mousedeer and the tortoise were left to watch the catch. When the antu came, the two of them welcomed him into their camp and said that they would join him for a meal as soon as they finished binding up their heads. "The sky is going to fall," they told the antu, "and anyone who doesn't have his head bound will die." The antu told them to bind his head which they wrapped so tightly with a rattan that he died.

539 The other animals were overjoyed when they returned and found that the mousedeer and the tortoise had killed the antu. They rejoiced that their fishing could go on and that their catch wouldn't be eaten entirely by the antu. When they came to dividing the catch, the tapir gave the mousedeer and tortoise the smallest shares saying, "Large shares to large animals and small shares to small animals." From this saying comes the expression, pedua' badak, or the division of the tapir, mit kelikit, basai kelikat.

The mousedeer and tortoise rankled under the injustice and on the way contrived to get all the fish. Having been told to paddle the boat home while the other animals slept, the two of them took fish-scales which they put over the eyes of the other animals. "The enemy is coming, the enemy is coming," they shouted. "We are attacked." The other animals opened their eyes but couldn't see. Leaping into the water to escape the "enemy," they left all the fish to the mousedeer and tortoise, who had righted the wrongs perpertrated against them and had obtained justice.

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adat--Iban customary law
anak--child
anembiak--followers
antu--malevolent spirits
arak--a home distilled liquor
atap (attap)--leaf roof made from nipa palm leaves
baka'--circular baskets of plaited rattan, about one bushel capacity, for holding rice
belian--rot resistant and highly impervious ironwood
bidai--large mat for drying rice
bilik--the family living area or room in a longhouse, which is rectangular in shape, varying in size from the largest that Sutlive found of 24' x 56' to the smallest of only 10' wide
dapor--section of bilik where cooking is done; the kitchen; the clay or stone hearth sometimes separated by a wall from the rest of the bilik in more modern houses
derris--a large genus of tropical old world shrubs and woody vines including several that are used as sources of native fish and arrow poisons and commerically as sources of rotenone and related insecticidal substances

duku'--knives
gantang--a dry measure containing about 4 kati (5 1/3 pounds) of unhusked rice (padi) or 6 kati (8 pounds) of husked rice (berau)
gawai--Iban feasts or ceremonies (e.g., Gawai Antu--feast of departed spirits; Gawai Dayak--Dayak Festival Day; Gawai Batu--festival of the whetstone to assure a good harvest in the new year
ilok--weeding knives
isan--term of address between parents-in-law signifying interdependence of kin groups
kaban--kin groups
kang chew--Chinese community leader (see pengula)
kapok--the silky down which invests the seeds of a silk-cotton tree of the East Indies, Africa and tropical America; used for stuffing pillows, etc.
kati--one and one-third (1 1/3) pounds; a measure of weight
Keling--Iban culture hero, god of adventure and warfare; embodies ideal personality traits of Iban male
Kumang--consort of the god Keling
lemambang--a bard; an individual who is a repository of Iban lore
madi--sibling, term of address (shortened form of menyadi)

manang--Iban shaman
manggul--ritual of confirming and propitiating the farm site
Matah Padi--rice harvest ritual
ngajat--traditional Iban dance
orang putih--Caucasians, principally British and Americans
padi bukit--hill rice
padi paya--swamp rice
padi pun--sacred rice, a special strain (varying by family) whose cultivation takes precedence over the rest
pantang--ritual prohibitions
pasar--trading center
pasu--a dry measure of eight gantang or 48 pounds of husked rice
pejalai--an institution having to do with validation of male status among Iban, involving especially proof of manhood by travel, the overcoming of difficulties, and return with trophies (formerly human heads, now sewing machines, gold, outboard motors and cash)
pemali--ritual prohibition or taboo
penakan--children of interethnic marriages

pengulu--A position among the Iban above that of tuai, created by the second Rajah. The Iban pengulu, the Malay tuah kampong, and the Chinese kang chew formed the second level in the hierarchical structure (below the Rajah), as community leaders.

petara--benevolent spirits

pikul--measure of weight equivalent to 133 1/3 pounds

pitu'--sickles

raja berani--the higest status an Iban male could achieve in the 19th and early 20th century, through a combination of successful farming, pioneering, being a brave warrior, part of the advance guard (buloh balang) and then a war leader

ramin--a yellow-white softwood used for moldings, furniture, toys, etc.

rottan--rattan, cane

ruai--covered common veranda of a longhouse

sadau--loft over the bilik and part of the ruai used to store rice and household goods and in some households for sleeping, and occasionally the performance of rituals

samengat--soul

samengat padi--soul of the rice

sirat--traditional Iban male loin cloth
tanjŭ--open, uncovered porch at the front of a longhouse, in front of the cover ruai
temuda--previous farming sites
tibang--rice storage units about 5 feet in diameter and 3 feet deep; families usually own 2 or 3
tikai senggang--woven mat used exclusively for threshing padi
towkay--Chinese patron in a patron-client trade relationship between Chinese and Iban
tuah kampong--Malay community leader
tuai--Iban leader
tuai rumah--one who adjudicated problems and land disputes internal to the community
tuai burong--an augur who discerned meaningful calls and flights of omen birds for events connected with the horticultural season or pejalai
tuai serang--war leader
tuak--rice wine
tusun tunggu Iban--list of Iban fines
udong--brother, contractual dyadic relations or partnerships for trade (between Malays and Ibans)
utap--bark canoe, used once and abandoned